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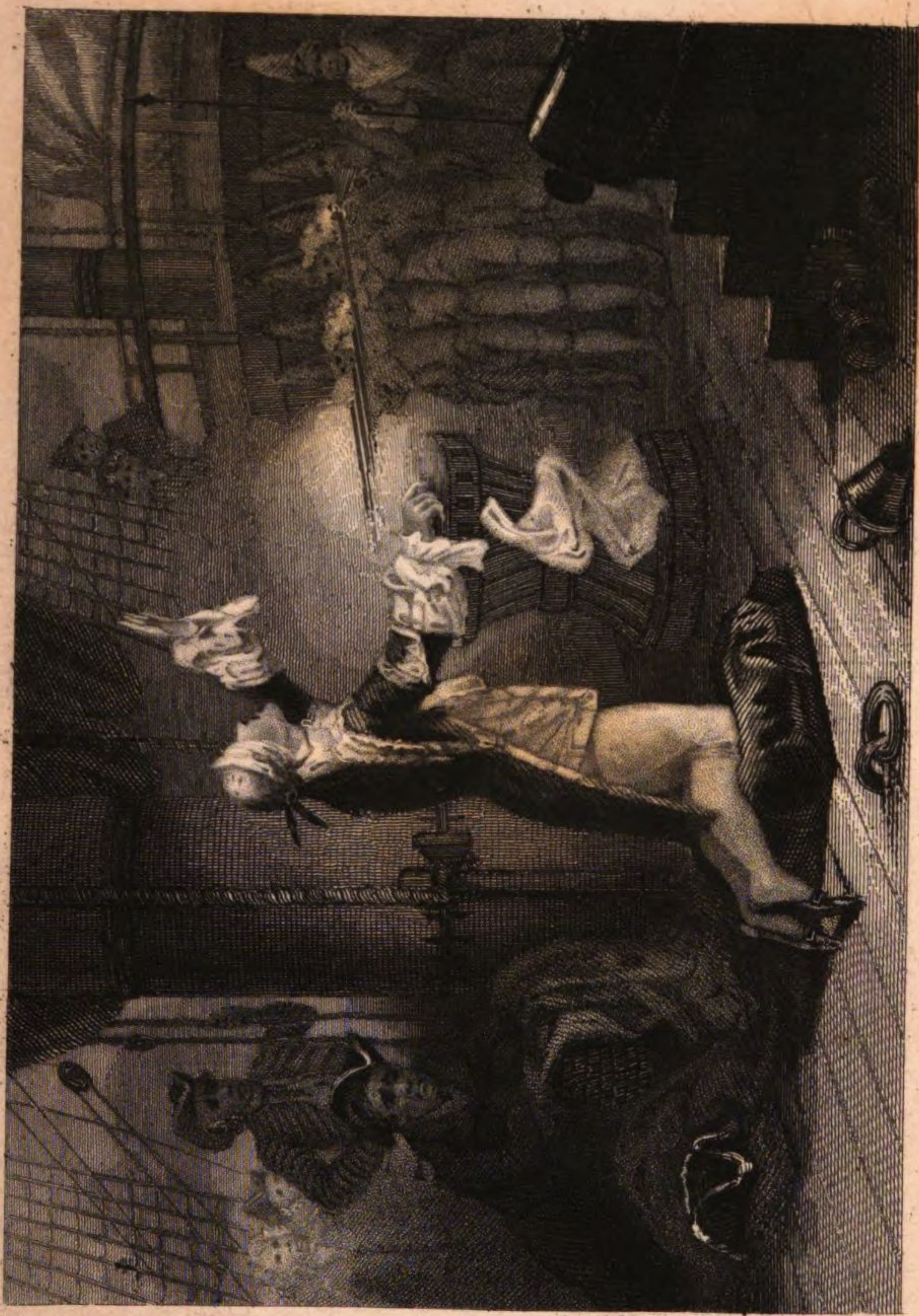
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. XII.

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EXECUTION OF ADMIRAL BYNG.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

BY

HUME AND EMMETT,

WITH

A CONTINUATION

BY

THE REV. H. EMMETT, M.A.

VOL. III.



Escape of Admiral Broderick.

1862.

A. J. VASEY, M.A.

1834.



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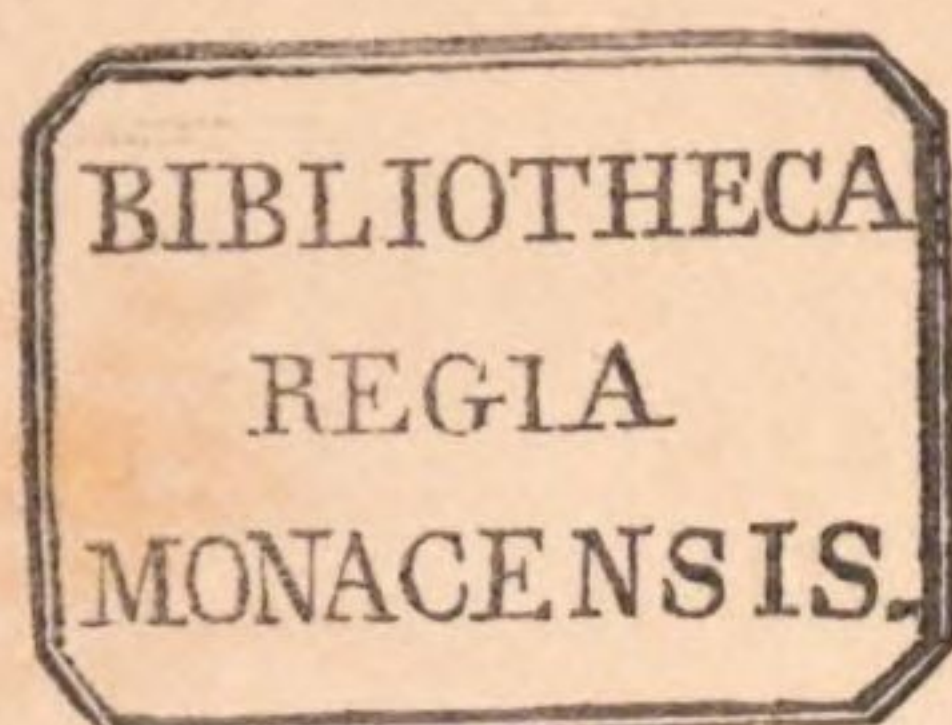


Escape of Admiral Broderick.

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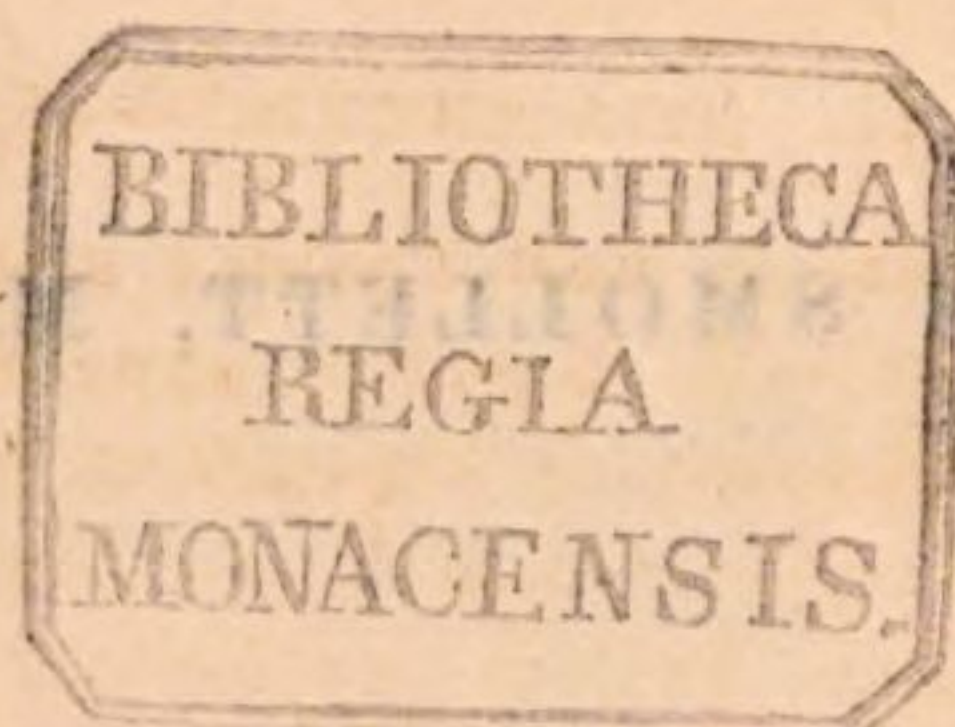
TOBIAS SMOLLETT, M.D.

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN 1688 TO THE DEATH OF
GEORGE THE SECOND IN 1760.

With Historical Illustrations and Portraits.

A.D. 1755 to A.D. 1758.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND



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OF

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 2. Admiral Broderick's escape from the
 Prince George . . . Vignette

ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

THE TWELFTH VOLUME.

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1. WHILST all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success: still the French court flattered itself, that Great Britain, out of tenderness to his majesty's German dominions, would abstain from hostilities: Mirepoix continued to have frequent conferences with the British ministry, who made no secret that their admirals, particularly Boscawen, had orders to attack the French ships wherever they should meet them; on the other hand, M. de Mirepoix declared that his master would consider the first gun fired at sea in a hostile manner as a declaration of war. This menace, far from intimidating the English, animated them to redouble their preparations for war: the press for seamen was carried on with extraordinary vigor in all parts of this kingdom, as well as in Ireland; and great premiums were given, not only by the government, but also, over and above his majesty's bounty, by almost all the considerable cities and towns in England, to such as should enlist voluntarily for sailors or soldiers: other branches of the public service went on with equal alacrity; and such was the eagerness of the people to lend their money to the government, that instead of £1,000,000, which was to be raised by way of lottery, £3,880,000 were subscribed immediately.

2. The situation of affairs requiring his majesty to go to Germany this summer, great apprehensions arose in the minds of many, lest the French should either intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return: earl Paulet had made a motion in the house of lords, humbly to represent to his majesty, 'that it was an article in the original act of settlement, by which the succession of these kingdoms devolved to his electoral house, that the king should not go to his foreign dominions without the consent of parliament, and that this was a principal article in the compact between the crown and the people: that though this article was repealed in the late reign, yet, till of late, it had always

been the custom for his majesty to acquaint the parliament with his intended departure to his German dominions, both in regard to the true sense and spirit of the act that placed him on the throne, as well as for the paternal kindness of his royal heart, and the condescension he had been so good to show to his parliament on all occasions; but that his majesty's declaration of his design to visit his electoral estates had always come on the last day of a session, when it was too late for the great constitutional council of the crown to offer such advice as might otherwise have been expedient and necessary: that his majesty's leaving his kingdoms in a conjuncture so pregnant with distress, so denunciative of danger, would not only give the greatest advantage to such as might be disposed to stir up disaffection and discontent, and to the constitutional and national enemies of England; but would also fill his loyal subjects with the most affecting concern, and most gloomy fears, as well for their own safety, as for that of their sovereign, whose invaluable life, at all times of the utmost consequence to his people, was then infinitely so, by reason of his great experience, the affection of every one to his royal person, and the minority of the heir apparent.' Such was the purport of this motion, but it was not seconded by any of the other lords.

3. The general uneasiness, on account of his majesty's departure, was greatly increased by an apprehension that there would, during his absence, be no good agreement amongst the regency, which consisted of the following persons: his royal highness William, duke of Cumberland; Thomas, lord archbishop of Canterbury; Philip, earl of Hardwicke, lord high chancellor; John, earl Granville, president of the council; Charles, duke of Marlborough, lord privy-seal; John, duke of Rutland, steward of the household; Charles, duke of Grafton, lord-chamberlain; Archibald, duke of Argyle; the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; the duke of Dorset, master of the horse; the earl of Holderness, one of the secretaries of state; the earl of Rochford, groom of the stole; the marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of Ireland; lord Anson, first commissioner of the admiralty; Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state; and Henry Fox, Esq. secretary at war. His majesty set out from St. James's on the twenty-eighth of April early in the morning, embarked at Harwich in the

afternoon, landed the next day at Helvoetsluys, and arrived at Hanover on the second of May.

4. Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed from thence on the twenty-seventh of April for the banks of Newfoundland; and in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the same station, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe: but the thick fogs which prevail on these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river, through the straits of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line: however, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, and was thought to be the most proper situation for intercepting the enemy, two French ships, the Alcide, of sixty-four guns, and 480 men, and the Lys, pierced for fifty-four guns, but mounting only twenty-two, having eight companies of land forces on board, being separated from the rest of their fleet in the fog, fell in with the Dunkirk, captain Howe, and the Defiance, captain Andrews, two sixty-gun ships of the English squadron; and after a smart engagement, which lasted some hours, and in which captain, afterwards lord Howe, behaved with the greatest skill and intrepidity, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about £8000 in money. Though the capture of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the public credit of every kind, and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no farther measures with the French, but justly to repel force by force; and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity: the French, who for some time did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time, and to have continued extending their encroachments on our settlements, till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi

to Canada by a line of forts, many of which they had already erected.

5. On the arrival of the news of this action at Paris, the French ambassador, M. de Mirepoix, was recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover, where he had just arrived, to attend the king of England in a public character: they complained loudly of Boscawen's attacking the ships, as a breach of national faith; but it was justly retorted on the part of England, that their encroachments in America had rendered reprisals both justifiable and necessary: the resolution of making them was the effect of mature deliberation in the English council: the vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Great Britain, occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopped, and brought into British ports: to give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those admirals who had distinguished themselves most towards the end of the last war: accordingly, on the twenty-first of July, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England about the latter end of September and the beginning of October; on the fourteenth of which last month another fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, sailed again on a cruise to the westward under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America: but this fleet likewise returned to Spithead on the twenty-second of November, without having been able to effect anything, though it was allowed by all that the admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

6. While these measures were pursued, for the general security of the British coasts and trade in Europe, several new ships of war were begun, and finished with the utmost expedition, in his majesty's docks: twelve frigates and sloops, contracted for in private yards, were completed by the month of August; and twenty-four ships and twelve colliers were then taken into the service of the government, to be fitted out as vessels of war, to carry twenty guns and 120 men each: in the mean time the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that before the end of this year 300 of their merchant ships, many of which from St. Domingo and

Martinico were extremely rich, and 8000 of their sailors, were brought into English ports: by these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders: their outward-bound merchant ships were insured at the rate of thirty per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them; their ministry was publicly reviled even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe: their uneasiness was also not a little heightened by new broils between their king and the parliament of Paris, occasioned by the obstinacy of the clergy of that kingdom, who seemed determined to support the church, in all events, against the secular tribunals; and as much as possible to enforce the observance of the bull *Unigenitus*, which had long been the occasion of so many disputes among them: however, the parliament continuing firm, and the French king approving of its conduct, the ecclesiastics thought proper to submit for the present, and in their general assembly this year granted him a free gift of 16,000,000 livres, which he demanded of them;—a greater sum than they had ever given before, even in time of war.

7. In the beginning of this year the assembly of Massachusetts-bay in New England passed an act, prohibiting all correspondence with the French at Louisburg; and early in the spring they raised a body of troops, which was transported to Nova Scotia, to assist lieutenant-governor Laurence in driving the French from the encroachments they had made on that province: accordingly, towards the end of May, the governor sent a large detachment of troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Monckton, on this service; and three frigates and a sloop were despatched up the bay of Fundy, under the command of captain Rous, to give their assistance by sea: the troops, on their arrival at the river Massaguash, found the passage stopped by a large number of regular forces, rebel neutrals, or Acadians, and Indians, 450 of whom occupied a block-house with cannon mounted on their side of the river; and the rest were posted within a strong breast-work of timber, thrown up by way of outwork to the block-house. The English provincials attacked this place with such spirit, that the enemy were obliged to fly, and leave them in possession of

the breast-work; then the garrison in the block-house deserted it, and left the passage of the river free: from thence colonel Monckton advanced to the French fort of Beau-sejour, which he invested, as far at least as the small number of his troops would permit, on the twelfth of June; and after four days' bombardment obliged it to surrender, though the French had twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted and plenty of ammunition, and the English had not yet placed a single cannon on their batteries: the garrison was sent to Louisburg, on condition of not bearing arms in America for the space of six months; and the Acadians, who had joined the French, were pardoned, in consideration of their having been forced into that service. Colonel Monckton, after putting a garrison into this place, and changing its name to that of Cumberland, the next day attacked and reduced the other French fort on the river Gaspereau which runs into Baie Verte; where he likewise found a large quantity of provisions and stores of all kinds, that being the chief magazine for supplying the French Indians and Acadians with arms, ammunition, and other necessaries: he then disarmed these last, to the number of 15,000; and in the mean time, captain Rous with his ships sailed to the mouth of the river St. John, to attack the new fort the French had erected there; but they saved him that trouble, by abandoning it on his appearance, after having burst their cannon, blown up their magazine, and destroyed, as far as they had time, all the works they had lately raised: the English had but twenty men killed and about the same number wounded, in the whole of this expedition, the success of which secured the tranquillity of Nova Scotia.

8. While the New Englanders were thus employed in reducing the French in Nova Scotia, preparations were made in Virginia for attacking them on the Ohio: a fort was built, which was likewise called Fort Cumberland, and a camp formed at Wills's creek: on the fourteenth of January of this year, major-general Braddock, with colonel Dunbar's and colonel Halket's regiments of foot, sailed from Cork, in Ireland, for Virginia, where they all landed safe before the end of February: this general might consequently have entered on action early in the spring, had he not been unfortunately delayed by the Virginian contractors for the army, who, when he was ready to march, had neither provided a sufficient quantity of provisions for

his troops nor a competent number of carriages for his army: this accident was foreseen by almost every person who knew any thing of our plantations on the continent of America: for the people of Virginia, who think of no produce but their tobacco, and do not raise corn enough even for their own subsistence, being by the nature of their country well provided with the convenience of water conveyance, have but few wheel carriages, or beasts of burden; whereas Pennsylvania, which abounds in corn and most other sorts of provisions, has but little water-carriage, especially in its western settlements, where its inhabitants have great numbers of carts, waggons, and horses: Mr. Braddock should therefore certainly in point of prudence have landed in Pennsylvania; the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the chief planters there, who could easily have performed their engagements; and if his camp had been formed near Frank's town, or somewhere on the south-west borders of that province, he would not have had eighty miles to march from thence to Fort Du Quesne, instead of 130 miles that he had to advance from Wills's creek, where he did encamp, through roads neither better nor more practicable than the other would have been. This error in the very beginning of the expedition, whether owing to an injudicious preference fondly given to the Virginians in the lucrative job of supplying these troops, or to any other cause, delayed the march of the army for some weeks, during which it was in the utmost distress for necessaries of all kinds; and would probably have defeated the expedition intirely for that summer, had not the contractors found means to procure some assistance from the back settlements of Pennsylvania: but even when these supplies did arrive, they consisted of only fifteen waggons, and 100 draught horses, instead of 150 waggons and 300 horses, which the Virginian contractors had engaged to furnish, and the provisions were so bad that they could not be used: however, some gentlemen in Pennsylvania, being applied to in this exigence, amply made up for these deficiencies, and the troops were by this means supplied with every thing they wanted. Another and still more fatal error was committed in the choice of the commander for this expedition: major-general Braddock, who was appointed to it, was undoubtedly a man of courage, and expert in all the punctilios of a review, having been brought up in the English guards; but he was naturally very haughty, positive, and difficult of

access; qualities ill suited to the temper of the people amongst whom he was to command: his extreme severity in matters of discipline had rendered him unpopular among the soldiers; and the strict military education in which he had been trained from his youth, and which he prided himself on scrupulously following, made him hold the American militia in great contempt, because they could not go through their exercise with the same dexterity and regularity as a regiment of guards in Hyde-park; little knowing, or indeed being able to form any idea of the difference between the European manner of fighting, and an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses. Before he left England, he received in the hand-writing of colonel Napier, a set of instructions from the duke of Cumberland: by these the attempt on Niagara was in a great measure referred to him, and the reduction of Crown-Point was to be left chiefly to the provincial forces: but above all, his royal highness, both verbally and in this writing, frequently cautioned him carefully to beware of an ambush or surprise: instead of regarding this salutary caution, his conceit of his own abilities made him disdain to ask the opinion of any under his command; and the Indians, who would have been his safest guards against this danger in particular, were so disgusted by the haughtiness of his behavior, that most of them forsook his banners. Under these disadvantages he began his march from Fort Cumberland on the tenth of June, at the head of about 2200 men, for the meadows, where colonel Washington was defeated the year before: on his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Quesne, which had lately been built on the same river, near its confluence with the Monangahela, expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops: therefore, that he might march with a greater despatch, he left colonel Dunbar, with 800 men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit; and with the other 1200, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the necessary ammunition and provisions, he marched on with so much expedition, that he seldom took any time to reconnoitre the woods or thickets he was to pass through; as if the nearer he approached the enemy the farther he was removed from danger.

9. On the eighth of July he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne: though colonel Dunbar was then near forty miles behind him, and his officers, particularly Sir

Peter Halket, earnestly entreated him to proceed with caution, and to employ the friendly Indians who were with him, by way of advanced guard, in case of ambuscades; yet he resumed his march the next day, without so much as endeavoring to obtain any intelligence of the situation or disposition of the enemy, or even sending out any scouts to visit the woods and thickets on both sides of him, as well as in front: with this carelessness he was advancing, when, about noon, he was saluted with a general fire on his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, that not a man of them could be seen: the vanguard immediately fell back on the main body, and in an instant the panic and confusion became general; so that most of the troops fled with great precipitation, notwithstanding all that their officers, some of whom behaved very gallantly, could do to stop their career. As to Braddock himself, instead of scouring the thickets and bushes from whence the fire came, with grape shot from the ten pieces of cannon he had with him, or ordering flanking parties of his Indians to advance against the enemy, he obstinately remained on the spot where he was, and gave orders for the few brave officers and men who stayed with him to form regularly and advance: meanwhile his men fell thick about him, and almost all his officers were singled out, one after another, and killed or wounded; for the Indians, who always take aim when they fire, and aim chiefly at the officers, distinguished them by their dress: at last, the general, whose obstinacy seemed to increase with the danger, after having had some horses shot under him, received a musket shot through the right arm and lungs, of which he died in a few hours, having been carried off the field by the bravery of lieutenant-colonel Gage, and another of his officers: when he dropped, the confusion of the few that remained turned into a downright and very disorderly flight across a river which they had just passed, though no enemy appeared or attempted to attack them: all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left to the enemy, and, among the rest, the general's cabinet, with all his letters and instructions, which the French court afterwards made great use of in their printed memorials or manifestos. The loss of the English in this unhappy affair amounted to 700 men: their officers, in particular, suffered much more than in the ordinary proportion of battles in Europe: Sir Peter Halket fell by the very first fire, at the head of his

regiment; and the general's secretary, son to governor Shirley, was killed soon after. Neither the number of men which the enemy had in this engagement, nor the loss which they sustained, could be so much as guessed at; but the French afterwards gave out, that their number did not, in the whole, exceed 400 men, mostly Indians; and that their loss was quite inconsiderable, as it probably was, because they lay concealed in such a manner that the English knew not whither to point their muskets. The panic of these last continued so long, that they never stopped till they met the rear division, and even then they infected those troops with their terrors; so that the army retreated without stopping, till they reached Fort Cumberland, though the enemy did not so much as attempt to pursue, nor ever appeared in sight, either in the battle or after the defeat: on the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary victory that ever was obtained, and the farthest flight that ever was made.

10. Had the shattered remains of this army continued at Fort Cumberland, and fortified themselves there, as they might easily have done, during the rest of the summer, they would have been such a check on the French and their scalping Indians, as would have prevented many of those ravages that were committed in the ensuing winter on the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania; but, instead of taking that prudent step, their commander left only the sick and wounded at that fort, under the protection of two companies of the provincial militia, posted there by way of garrison, and began his march on the second of August, with about 1600 men, from Philadelphia, where those troops could be of no immediate service: from thence they were ordered away to Albany, in New York, by general Shirley, on whom the chief command of the troops in America had devolved by the death of major-general Braddock: Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were by these means left entirely to take care of themselves, which they might have done effectually, had they been united in their counsels; but the usual disputes between their governors and assemblies defeated every salutary plan that was proposed: Pennsylvania, the most powerful of the three, was rendered quite impotent, either for its own defence or that of its neighbors, by these unhappy contests; though, at last, the assembly of that province, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, and seeing the absolute necessity of providing a

standing military force, and of erecting some forts to defend their western frontier, passed a bill for raising £50,000 : but even this sum, small as it was, even to a degree of ridicule, considering the richness of the province and the extent of its frontier, could not be obtained ; the governor positively refusing to give his assent to the act of the assembly, because they had taxed the proprietaries' estates equally with those of the inhabitants, which, he said, he was ordered by his instructions not to consent to, nor indeed any new tax on the proprietaries ; and the assembly, consisting chiefly of members whose estates lay in the eastern or interior parts of the province, as positively refusing to alter their bill. One would be apt to think, that in a case of such urgent necessity, the governor might have ventured to give his assent to the bill under a protest, that it should not prejudice the rights of the proprietaries on any future occasion ; but as he did not, the bill was dropped, and the province left defenceless ; by which means it afterwards suffered severely, to the destruction of many of the poor inhabitants on the western frontier, and to the impressing the Indians with a contemptible opinion of the English and the highest esteem of the French.

11. Our colonies to the north of Pennsylvania were more active, and more successful in their preparations for war : New York, following the example of New England, passed an act to prohibit the sending of provisions to any French port or settlement on the continent of North-America, or any of the adjacent islands ; and also for raising £45,000, on estates real and personal, for the better defence of their colony, which lay more exposed than any other to a French invasion from Crown-Point : however, this sum, great as it might seem to them, was far from being sufficient ; nor, indeed, could they have provided properly for their security without the assistance of our other colonies to the east of them ; but with their help, and the additional succor of the small body of regular troops expected under colonel Dunbar, they boldly resolved on offensive measures, which, when practicable, are always the safest ; and two expeditions, one against the French fort at Crown-Point, and the other against their fort at Niagara, between the lakes Ontario and Erie, were set on foot at the same time : the former of these expeditions was appointed to be executed under the command of general Johnson, a native of Ireland, who had long resided on the Mohawk river, in the western parts of

New York, where he had acquired a considerable estate, and was universally beloved, not only by the inhabitants, but also by the neighboring Indians, whose language he had learned, and whose affections he had gained by his humanity towards them. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by general Shirley himself.

12. The rendezvous of the troops for both these expeditions was appointed to be at Albany, where most of them arrived before the end of June; but the artillery, batteaux, provisions, and other necessaries for the attempt on Crown-Point could not be prepared till the eighth of August, when general Johnson set out with them from Albany for the carrying-place from Hudson's river to Lake George: there the troops had already arrived, under the command of major-general Lyman, and consisted of between 5000 and 6000 men, besides Indians, raised by the governments of Boston, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and New York: every thing was then prepared as fast as possible for a march; and towards the end of the month, general Johnson advanced about fourteen miles forward with his troops, and encamped in a very strong situation, covered on each side by a thick wooded swamp, by Lake George in his rear, and by a breast-work of trees, cut down for that purpose, in his front: here he resolved to wait the arrival of his batteaux, and afterwards to proceed to Tinconderoga, at the other end of the lake, from whence it was but about fifteen miles to the fort at the south end of Lake Corlaer, or Champlain, called Fort Frederic by the French, and by us Crown-Point. Whilst he was thus encamped, some of his Indian scouts, of which he took care to send out numbers along both sides, and to the farther end of Lake George, brought him intelligence that a considerable number of the enemy were then on their march from Ticonderoga, by the way of the south bay, towards the fortified encampment, since called Fort Edward, which general Lyman had built at the carrying-place; and in which 400 or 500 of the New Hampshire and New York men had been left as a garrison: on this information, general Johnson sent two expresses, one after the other, to colonel Blanchard, their commander, with orders to call in all his out-parties, and to keep his whole force within the intrenchments. About twelve o'clock at night, those who had been sent on the second express returned with an account of their having seen the enemy within four miles of the camp

at the carrying-place, which they scarcely doubted their having by that time attacked: important as the defence of this place was for the safety of the whole army, and imminent as the danger seemed to be, it does not appear that the general then called any council of war, or resolved on any thing for its relief; but early the next morning he called a council, wherein it was unadvisedly resolved to detach 1000 men, with a number of Indians, to intercept, or, as the general's expression was in his letter, to catch the enemy in their retreat, either as victors, or as defeated in their design: this expedient was resolved on, though no one knew the number of the enemy, nor could obtain any information in that respect from the Indian scouts; because the Indians have no words or signs for expressing any large number, which, when it exceeds their reckoning, they signify by pointing to the stars in the firmament, or to the hair of their head; and this they often do to denote a number less than 1000, as well as to signify 10,000, or any greater number.

13. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning 1000 men, with 200 Indians, were detached under the command of colonel Williams; but they had not been gone two hours, when those in the camp began to hear a close firing at about three or four miles distance, as they judged: as it approached nearer and nearer, they rightly supposed that the detachment was overpowered, and retreating towards the camp; which was soon confirmed by some fugitives, and presently after by whole companies, who fled back in great confusion: in a very short time after, the enemy appeared marching in regular order up to the centre of the camp, where the consternation was so great, that if they had attacked the breast-work directly, they might probably have thrown all into confusion, and obtained an easy victory; but, fortunately for the English, they halted for some time about 150 yards distance, and from thence began their attack with platoon firing, too far off to do much hurt, especially against troops who were defended by a strong breast-work: on the contrary, this ineffectual fire served only to raise the spirits of these last, who, having prepared their artillery during the time that the French halted, began to play it so briskly on the enemy, that the Canadians and Indians in their service fled immediately into the woods on each side of the camp, and there squatted under bushes, or skulked behind trees, from whence they continued firing with very little execution,

most of their shot being intercepted by the brakes and thickets; for they never had the courage to advance to the verge of the wood. Baron Dieskau, who commanded the French, being thus left alone, with his regular troops, at the front of the camp, finding he could not make a close attack on the centre with his small number of men, moved first to the left, and then to the right, at both which places he endeavored to force a passage, but was repulsed, being unsupported by the irregulars: instead of retreating, as he ought in prudence to have done, he still continued his platoon and bush-firing till four o'clock in the afternoon, during which time his regular troops suffered greatly by the fire from the camp, and were at last thrown into confusion; which was no sooner perceived by general Johnson's men, than they, without waiting for orders, leaped over their breast-work, attacked the enemy on all sides, and, after killing and taking a considerable number of them, intirely dispersed the rest: the French, whose numbers, at the beginning of this engagement, amounted to about 2000 men, including 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and the rest Indians of different nations, had between 700 and 800 men killed, and thirty taken prisoners: among the latter was baron Dieskau himself, whom they found at a little distance from the field of battle, dangerously wounded, and leaning on the stump of a tree for his support: the English lost about 200 men, and those chiefly of the detachment under colonel Williams; for they had very few either killed or wounded in the attack on their camp, and not any of distinction, except colonel Titcomb killed, and the general himself and major Nichols wounded: among the slain of the detachment, which would probably have been intirely cut off had not lieutenant-colonel Cole been sent out from the camp with 300 men, with which he stopped the enemy's pursuit, and covered the retreat of his friends, were colonel Williams, major Ashley, six captains, and several subalterns, besides private men; and the Indians reckoned that they had lost forty men, besides the brave old Hendrick, the Mohawk sachem, or chief captain.

14. When baron Dieskau set out from Ticonderoga, his design was only to surprise and cut off the intrenched camp, now called Fort Edward, at the carrying-place, where there were but 400 or 500 men: if he had executed this scheme, our army would have been thrown into great difficulties; for it could neither have proceeded farther, nor have subsisted where it was; and he might have found an opportunity to

attack it with great advantage in its retreat: but when he was within four or five miles of that fort, his people were informed that there were several cannon there, and none at the camp; on which they all desired to be led on to this last, which he the more readily consented to, as he himself had been told by an English prisoner, who had left this camp but a few days before, that it was quite defenceless, being without any lines, and destitute of cannon, which, in effect, was true at that time; for the cannon did not arrive, nor was the breast-work erected, till about two days before the engagement: to this misinformation therefore must be imputed this step, which otherwise would be inconsistent with the general character and abilities of baron Dieskau. A less justifiable error seems to have been committed by general Johnson, in not detaching a party to pursue the enemy when they were defeated and fled: perhaps he was prevented from so doing by the ill fate of the detachment he had sent out in the morning under colonel Williams: however that may be, his neglect, in this respect, had like to have been fatal the next day to a detachment sent from Fort Edward, consisting of 120 men of the New Hampshire regiment, under captain M'Ginnes, as a reinforcement to the army at the camp: this party fell in with between 300 and 400 men of Dieskau's troops, near the spot where colonel Williams had been defeated the day before; but M'Ginnes, having timely notice by his scouts of the approach of an enemy, made such a disposition, that he not only repulsed the assailants, but defeated and intirely dispersed them, with the loss only of two men killed, eleven wounded, and five missing: he himself unfortunately died of the wounds he received in this engagement a few days after he arrived at the camp with his party.

15. It was now judged too late in the year to proceed to the attack of Crown-Point; as it would have been necessary, in that case, to build a strong fort in the place where the camp then was, in order to secure a communication with Albany, from whence only the troops could expect to be reinforced, or supplied with fresh stores of ammunition or provisions: they therefore set out on their return soon after this engagement, having first erected a little stockaded fort, at the hither end of Lake George, in which they left a small garrison, as a future prey for the enemy;—a misfortune which might easily have been foreseen, because this whole army, being country militia, was to be disbanded, and return

to their respective homes, as they actually did soon after their retreat to Albany. This was all the glory, this all the advantage, that the English nation acquired by such an expensive expedition: but so little had the English been accustomed of late to hear of victory, that they rejoiced at this advantage, as if it had been an action of the greatest consequence: the general was highly applauded for his conduct, and liberally rewarded; for he was created a baronet by his majesty, and presented with £5000 by the parliament.

16. The preparations for general Shirley's expedition against Niagara were not only deficient, but shamefully slow; though it was well known that even the possibility of his success must, in a great measure, depend on his setting out early in the year, as will appear to any person who considers the situation of our fort at Oswego, this being the only way by which he could proceed to Niagara. Oswego lies on the south-east side of the lake Ontario, near 300 miles almost due west from Albany in New York: the way to it from thence, though long and tedious, is the more convenient, as the far greatest part of it admits of water-carriage, by what the inhabitants called batteaux, which are a kind of light flat-bottomed boats, widest in the middle, and pointed at each end, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, called batteau men, with paddles and setting poles, the rivers being in many places too narrow to admit of oars: from Albany to the village of Shenectady, about sixteen miles, is a good waggon-road: from thence to the little falls in the Mohawk river, being sixty-five miles, the passage is by water-carriage up that river, and consequently against the stream, which in many places is somewhat rapid, and in others so shallow, that, when the river is low, the watermen are obliged to get out, and draw their batteaux over the rifts. At the little falls is a postage, or land carriage, for about a mile, over a ground so marshy, that it will not bear any wheel carriage; but a colony of Germans settled there attend with sledges, on which they draw the loaded batteaux to the next place of embarkation on the same river: from thence they proceed by water up that river, for fifty miles, to the carrying-place, near the head of it, where there is another postage, the length of which depends on the dryness or wetness of the season, but is generally above six or eight miles over in the summer months: here the batteaux are again carried on sledges, till

they come to a narrow river called Wood's creek, down which they are wafted on a gentle stream, for about forty miles, into the lake Oneyada, which stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and is passed with great ease and safety in calm weather: at the western end of the lake is the river Onondaga, which, after a course of between twenty and thirty miles, unites with the river Cayuga, or Seneca; and their united streams run into the lake Ontario, at the place where Oswego fort is situated: but this river is so rapid, as to be sometimes dangerous, besides its being full of rifts and rocks; and about twelve miles on this side of Oswego there is a fall of eleven feet perpendicular, where there is consequently a postage, which, however, does not exceed forty yards: from thence the passage is easy, quite to Oswego: the lake Ontario, on which this fort stands, is near 280 leagues in circumference: its figure is oval, and its depth runs from twenty to twenty-five fathoms: on the north side of it are several little gulfs: there is a communication between this lake and that of the Hurons by the river Tanasuate, from whence it is a land carriage of six or eight leagues to the river Toronto, which falls into it. The French have two forts of consequence on this lake; Frontenac, which commands the river St. Lawrence, where the lake communicates with it; and Niagara, which commands the communication between the lake Ontario and the lake Erie: but of these forts, and this last lake, which is one of the finest in the world, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

17. Though we had long been in possession of fort Oswego, and though it lay greatly exposed to the French, particularly to those of Canada, on any rupture between the two nations, we had never taken care to render it tolerably defensible, or even to build a single vessel fit for navigating the lake; nor was this strange neglect ever taken effectual notice of till the beginning of this year, when, at a meeting which general Braddock had in April with the governors and chief gentlemen of several of our colonies at Alexandria, in Virginia, it was resolved to strengthen both the fort and garrison at Oswego, and to build some large vessels at that place: accordingly a number of shipwrights and workmen were sent thither in May and June: at the same time captain Bradstreet marched thither with two companies of 100 men each, to reinforce the 100 that were there before under captain King, to which number the garrison had been increased since our contests with France began to grow

serious : for a long time before, not above twenty-five men were left to defend this post, which from its great importance, and the situation of affairs at this juncture, most certainly required a much stronger garrison than was put into it even at this period ; but economy was the chief thing consulted in the beginning of this war, and to that in a great measure was owing its long duration.

18. From the above description of the passage from Albany to Oswego, it is plain how necessary it was that the troops intended for this expedition should have set out early in the spring : but instead of that, the very first of them, colonel Schuyler's New Jersey regiment, did not begin their march till after the beginning of July ; and just as Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments were preparing to follow, the melancholy account of Braddock's disaster arrived at Albany, where it so damped the spirits of the people, and spread such a terror, that many of the troops deserted, and most of the batteau men dispersed and ran home, by which means even all the necessary stores could not be carried along with the troops. Notwithstanding this disappointment, general Shirley set out from Albany, before the end of July, with as many of the troops and stores as he could procure a conveyance for, hoping to be joined in his route by great numbers of the Indians of the six nations, to whom he sent invitations to that effect as he passed by their settlements ; but they, instead of complying with his desire, absolutely declared against all hostilities on that side of the country, and insisted that Oswego, being a place of traffic and peace, ought not to be disturbed either by the English or the French ; as if they could have persuaded both parties to agree to such a local truce. On this refusal, Mr. Shirley proceeded forward, being joined by very few Indians, and arrived at Oswego on the seventeenth or eighteenth of August ; but the rest of the troops and artillery did not arrive till the last day of that month ; and even then, their store of provisions was not sufficient to enable them to proceed against Niagara, though some tolerable good vessels had by this time been built and got ready for that purpose. The general now resolved to take but 600 men with him for the attack of Niagara ; and to leave the rest of his army, consisting of about 1400 more, at Oswego, to defend that place, in case the French should attack it in his absence ; which there was reason to apprehend they might, as they then had a considerable force at Fort Frontenac, from whence they

could easily cross over the lake Ontario to Oswego: however, he was still obliged to wait at Oswego for provisions, of which at length a small supply arrived on the twenty-sixth of September, barely sufficient to support his men during their intended expedition, and to allow twelve days short subsistence for those he left behind: but by this time the rainy boisterous season had begun, on which account most of his Indians had already left him, and were returned home; and the few that remained with him declared that there was no crossing the lake Ontario in batteaux at that season, or any time before the next summer: in this perplexity he called a council of war, which, after weighing all circumstances, unanimously resolved to defer the attempt on Niagara till the next year; and to employ the troops, whilst they remained at Oswego, in building barracks, and erecting, or at least beginning to erect, two new forts, one on the east side of the river Onondaga, 450 yards distant from the old fort, which it was to command, as well as the entrance of the harbor, and to be called Ontario Fort; and the other 450 yards west of the old fort, to be called Oswego New Fort.

19. These things being agreed on, general Shirley, with the greatest part of the troops under his command, set out on his return to Albany on the twenty-fourth of October, leaving colonel Mercer with a garrison of about 700 men at Oswego; though repeated advice had been received, that the French had then at least 1000 men at their fort of Frontenac, on the same lake; and, what was still worse, the new forts were not yet near completed, but left to be finished by the hard labor of colonel Mercer and his little garrison, with the addition of this melancholy circumstance; that, if besieged by the enemy in the winter, it would not be possible for his friends to come to his assistance. Thus ended this year's unfortunate campaign, during which the French, with the assistance of their Indian allies, continued their murders, scalping, captivating, and laying waste the western frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania during the whole winter.

20. The ministers of the two jarring powers were very busily employed this year at most of the courts of Europe; but their transactions were kept extremely secret: the French endeavored to inspire the Spaniards with a jealousy of the strength of the English by sea, especially in America; and the Spanish court seemed inclined to accept of the office

of mediator; but Mr. Wall, who was perfectly well acquainted with the state of affairs between England and France, seconded the representations of the British ministry, which demonstrated, that, however willing Great Britain might be to accept of the mediation of Spain, she could not agree to any suspension of arms in America, which France insisted on as a preliminary condition, without hazarding the whole of her interest there; and that the captures which had been made by the English were the necessary consequences of the encroachments and injustice of the French, particularly in that country: on this remonstrance, all farther talk of the mediation of Spain was dropped; and the ministry of Versailles had recourse to the princes of Germany, amongst whom the elector of Cologne was soon brought over to their party, so as to consent to their forming magazines in his territories in Westphalia: this was a plain indication of their design against Hanover, which they soon after made his Britannic majesty, who was then at Hanover, an offer of sparing, if he would agree to certain conditions of neutrality for that electorate, which he rejected with disdain. Then the count d'Aubeterre, envoy extraordinary from France at the court of Vienna, proposed a secret negociation with the ministers of the empress-queen: the secret articles of the treaty of Petersburg between the two empresses had stipulated a kind of partition of the Prussian territories, in case that prince should infringe the treaty of Dresden: but his Britannic majesty, though often invited, had always refused to agree to any such stipulation; and the king of Poland, however he might be inclined to favor the scheme, did not dare to avow it formally till matters should be more ripe for carrying it into execution: the court of Vienna, whose favorite measure this was, began to listen to d'Aubeterre's insinuations, and by degrees entered into negociations with him, which in the end were productive of that unnatural confederacy between the empress-queen and the king of France, of which farther notice will be taken in the occurrences of the next year, when the treaty between them, into which they afterwards found means secretly to bring the empress of Russia, was concluded at Versailles.

21. The king of England, taking it for granted that the French would invade Hanover, in consequence of their rupture with Great Britain, which seemed to be near at

hand, began to take measures for the defence of that electorate: to this end, during his stay at Hanover, he concluded, on the eighteenth of June, a treaty with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness, during four years, for his majesty's service, a body of 8000 men, to be employed, if required, on the continent, or in Britain or Ireland, but not on board the fleet or beyond the seas; and also, if his Britannic majesty should judge it necessary or advantageous for his service, to furnish and join to this body of 8000 men, within six months after they should be demanded, 4000 more, of which 700 were to be horse or dragoons, and each regiment of infantry to have two field pieces of cannon.¹ Another treaty was begun with Russia about the same time; but this did not take effect during his majesty's residence at Hanover: that others were not concluded was the more surprising, as our subsidy treaty with Saxony had then expired, and that with Bavaria was near expiring; and as the securing of these two princes in our interest was at least as necessary towards forming a sufficient confederacy on the continent for the defence of Hanover, as it was to secure the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. If the reason of their not being engaged, (and no other seems so probable) was, that they refused to renew their treaties with England on any terms; all that can be said is, that they were guilty of flagrant ingratitude,

¹ The king, on his side, promised to pay to the landgrave for these succors, eight crowns banco, by way of levy-money, for every trooper or dragoon duly armed and mounted, and thirty crowns banco for every foot soldier; the crown to be reckoned at fifty-three sols of Holland, or at four shillings and ninepence three farthings English money; and also to pay to his serene highness, for the 8000 men, an annual subsidy of 150,000 crowns banco, during the four years, to commence from the day of signing the treaty; which subsidy was to be increased to 300,000 crowns yearly, from the time of requiring the troops to the time of their entering into British pay; and in case of their being dismissed, the said subsidy of 300,000 crowns was then to revive and be continued during the residue of the term: but if 12,000 men were demanded and furnished, the subsidy was then to be increased in proportion; and in case the king of Great Britain should at any time think fit to send back these troops before the expiration of the treaty, notice thereof was to be given to his serene highness three months beforehand; one month's pay was to be allowed them for their return; and they were to be furnished gratis with the necessary transport vessels.

as they had both received a subsidy from this kingdom for many years in time of peace, when they neither were nor could be of any service to the interest of Great Britain.

22. On the fifteenth of July an express arrived from admiral Boscawen, with an account of his having taken the two French ships of war the Alcide and the Lys: this was certainly contrary to the expectation of the court of France; for had they apprehended any such attack, they would not have ordered Mr. M'Namara to return to Brest with the chief part of their squadron; nor was it, perhaps, less contrary to the expectation of some of our own ministry: but as matters had been carried so far, it was then too late to retreat; and therefore orders were soon after given to all our ships of war to make reprisals on the French, by taking their ships wherever they should meet them. Sir Edward Hawke sailed from Portsmouth on the twenty-first of July, with eighteen ships of war, to watch the return of the French fleet from America, which however escaped him, and arrived at Brest on the third of September. Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead for the West-Indies on the thirteenth of August with four ships of war, furnished with orders to commit hostilities, as well as to protect our trade and sugar islands from any insult that the French might offer; and the duke de Mirepoix, their ambassador at the court of London, set out for Paris on the twenty-second of July without taking leave.

23. A war being thus in some measure begun, his majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth of September, and arrived on the fifteenth at Kensington, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the thirtieth of the same month: by this treaty her Russian majesty engaged to hold in readiness in Livonia, on the frontiers of Lithuania, a body of troops consisting of 40,000 infantry, with the necessary artillery, and 15,000 cavalry; and also on the coast of the same province forty or fifty galleys, with the necessary crews; to be ready to act, on the first order, in his majesty's service, in case, said the fifth article, which was the most remarkable, that the dominions of his Britannic majesty in Germany should be invaded on account of the interests or disputes which regard his kingdoms; her imperial majesty declaring that she would look on such an invasion as a case of the alliance

of the year 1742, and that the said dominions should be therein comprised in this respect; but neither these troops nor galleys were to be put in motion, unless his Britannic majesty or his allies should be somewhere attacked; in which case the Russian general should march, as soon as possible after requisition, to make a diversion with 30,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry; and should embark on board the galleys the other 10,000 infantry to make a descent according to the exigence of the affair. On the other side, his Britannic majesty engaged to pay to her Russian majesty an annual subsidy of £100,000 sterling a year, each year to be paid in advance, and to be reckoned from the day of the exchange of the ratifications to the day that these troops should on requisition march out of Russia; from which day the annual subsidy to her imperial majesty was to be £500,000 sterling, to be paid always four months in advance, until the troops should return into the Russian dominions, and for three months after their return: his Britannic majesty, who was to be at liberty to send once every year into the said province of Livonia a commissary, to see and examine the number and condition of the said troops, farther engaged, that in case her Russian majesty should be disturbed in this diversion, or attacked herself, he would furnish immediately the succor stipulated in the treaty of 1742; and that in case a war should break out, he would send into the Baltic a squadron of his ships, of a force suitable to the circumstances. This was the chief substance of the treaty, which, by agreement of both parties, was to subsist for four years from the exchange of the ratifications; but in the seventh article these words were unluckily inserted:—‘considering also the proximity of the countries wherein the diversion in question will probably be made, and the facility her troops will probably have of subsisting immediately in an enemy’s country, she takes on herself alone, during such a diversion, the subsistence and treatment of the said troops by sea and land:’ and in the eleventh article it was stipulated, that all the plunder the Russian army should take from the enemy should belong to them. That his Britannic majesty, who now knew enough of the court of Vienna to be sensible that he could expect no assistance from thence, in case his German dominions were invaded, should enter into this convention with the empress of Russia, in order to strengthen his defence on the continent, was extremely natural; especially as he had lately lived in great friendship with her,

and her transactions with the court of France had been so secret, by passing through only that of Vienna, that he had not yet been informed of them ; neither had the project of the treaty of Versailles then come to his knowlege, or to that of the king of Prussia ; nor had either of these princes yet made any formal advances to the other.

24. The first intimation that appeared publicly of the negociations of France with the empress of Germany, was when the French minister, count d'Aubeterre, declared at Vienna, 'that the warlike designs with which the king his master was charged, were sufficiently confuted by his great moderation, of which all Europe had manifold proofs ; that his majesty was persuaded this groundless charge had given as much indignation to their imperial majesties as to himself ; that he was firmly resolved to preserve to christendom that tranquillity which it enjoyed through his good faith, in religiously observing the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle ; but that if his Britannic majesty's allies should take part in the war which was kindled in America, by furnishing succors to the English, his majesty would be authorised to consider and treat them as principals in it.' France likewise made the same declaration to other courts.

25. The words and stipulation in the above-recited clause, in the seventh article of the treaty of Great Britain with Russia, were looked on as a menace levelled at the king of Prussia, who, having some time found means to procure a copy of this treaty, and seeing it in that light, boldly declared, by his ministers at all the courts of Europe, that he would oppose with his utmost force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire under any pretence whatever : this declaration was particularly displeasing to the French, who had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected several great magazines in Westphalia, with the permission of the elector of Cologne, for which the English minister at his court was, in August, ordered to withdraw from thence without taking leave : however, as soon as this declaration of the king of Prussia was notified to the court of Versailles, they sent an ambassador extraordinary, the duke de Nivernois, to Berlin, to try to persuade his majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with them : his Prussian majesty received this ambassador in such a manner as seemed to denote a disposition to agree to every thing he had to pro-

pose: this awakened in England a jealousy that his declaration alone was not to be relied on, but that it was necessary to bring him under some solemn engagement; especially as the French had by this time a numerous army near the Lower Rhine, with magazines provided for their march all the way to Hanover; and if the king of Prussia suffered them to pass through his dominions, that electorate must be swallowed up before the Russian auxiliaries could possibly be brought thither, or any army be formed for protecting it:² for this reason a negociation was set on foot by Great Britain at Berlin; but as it was not concluded before the beginning of the next year, we shall defer entering into the particulars of it till we come to that period.

26. Meanwhile the French made another attempt on the court of Madrid, loudly complaining of the taking of their two men of war by Boscawen's squadron, before any declaration of war was made; representing it as a most unjustifiable proceeding, which threatened a dissolution of all faith amongst nations: this produced a strong memorial from Sir Benjamin Keene, our minister at that court, importing, 'that it was well known that the French fleet carried troops, ammunition, and every thing necessary for defending the countries which the French had unjustly usurped in America, and of which the English claimed the property; that the rules of self-defence authorise every nation to render fruitless any attempt that may tend to its prejudice; that this right had been made use of only in taking the two French ships of war; and that the distinction of place might be interpreted in favor of the English, seeing the two ships were taken on the coasts of the countries where the contest arose.' In answer to this observation, the French minister represented the vast number of ships that had been taken in the European seas; for in fact the English ports soon began to be filled with them in consequence of the general orders for making reprisals: but the court of Madrid was so far from being persuaded by any thing he could say, that it gave his Britannic majesty the strongest assurances of its friendship, and of its intention to

² Perhaps the elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Prussian monarch than of the most christian king, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprising neighbor could in a few days subdue the whole electorate.

take no part in the differences between him and France, but such as should be conciliatory, and tending to restore the public tranquillity.

27. On the other hand, his Britannic majesty required, as king of Great Britain, the auxiliaries stipulated to him by treaty from the empress-queen; but these were refused, under pretence, that as the contest between him and France related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; though at the same time the French made no scruple of owning that they intended to make a powerful descent on Great Britain early in the spring. When, a little while after, France being employed in making great preparations for a land war in Europe, the king of England required her to defend her own possessions, the barrier in the Low Countries, with the number of men stipulated by treaty; which countries, acquired by English blood and English treasure, had been given to her on that express condition, she declared that she could not spare troops for that purpose, on account of her dangerous enemy, the king of Prussia; and afterwards, when he was secured by his treaty with England, she urged that as a reason for her alliance with France: it must be owned, however, for the sake of historical truth, that this was no bad reason, considering the power, the genius, and the character of that prince, who hovered over her dominions with an army of 150,000 veterans: it must likewise be owned, that she undertook to procure the French king's consent to a neutrality for Hanover, which would have effectually secured that electorate from the invasion of every other power but Prussia itself; and it is no strained conjecture to suppose, that the dread of this very power was the true source of those connexions in Germany, which entailed such a ruinous continental war on Great Britain.

28. Though the English continued to make reprisals on the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with, and detaining them, their cargoes, and crews; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having on the thirteenth of August taken the Blandford ship of war with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the governor at liberty as

soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and crew: however, at the same time, their preparations for a land war still went on with great diligence, and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

29. In England the preparations by sea became greater than ever; several new ships of war were put in commission, and many others taken into the service of the government; the exportation of gunpowder was forbidden; the bounties to seamen were continued, and the number of those that either entered voluntarily or were pressed increased daily, as did also the captures from the French, among which was the *Esperance*, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochefort to Brest to be manned: the land forces of Great Britain were likewise ordered to be augmented; several new regiments were raised; and all half-pay officers, and the out-pensioners belonging to Chelsea-hospital, were directed to send in their names, ages, and time of service, in order that such of them as were yet able to serve might be employed again if wanted. The English navy, so early as in the month of September of this year, consisted of one ship of 110 guns, five of 100 guns each, thirteen of ninety, eight of eighty, five of seventy-four, twenty-nine of seventy, four of sixty-six, one of sixty-four, thirty-three of sixty, three of fifty-four, twenty-eight of fifty, four of forty-four, thirty-five of forty, and forty-two of twenty, four sloops of war of eighteen guns each, two of sixteen, eleven of fourteen, thirteen of twelve, and one of ten, besides a great number of bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders; a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe; whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then on the stocks, amounted to no more than six ships of eighty guns, twenty-one of seventy-four, one of seventy-two, four of seventy, thirty-one of sixty-four, two of sixty, six of fifty, and thirty-two frigates.

30. Such was the situation of the two kingdoms, when, on the thirteenth of November, the parliament met, and his majesty opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he acquainted them that the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to regain such parts thereof as had been encroached on

or invaded ; that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as to prevent a general war from being lighted up in Europe, he had been always ready to accept reasonable and honorable terms of accommodation, but that none such had been proposed by France ; that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made ; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of profound peace, and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions ; that the king of Spain earnestly wished the preservation of the public tranquillity, and had given assurances of his intention to continue in the same pacific sentiments ; that he himself had greatly increased his naval armaments, and augmented his land forces in such a manner as might be least burdensome ; and, finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, and another with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, which should be laid before them.'

31. In answer to this speech, both houses voted most loyal addresses, but not without a warm opposition in each to some of the particular expressions ; for it having been proposed in the house of lords to insert in their address the words following ; viz. 'that they looked on themselves as obliged, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to stand by and support his majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements as his majesty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France, in resentment for such measures, and to assist his majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as might be formed, not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions, (though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain) in case they should be attacked on account of the part which his majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms ;' the inserting of these words in their address was opposed by earl Temple and several other lords ; because, by the first part of them, they engaged to approve of the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, neither of which they had ever seen, nor could it be supposed that either of them could be of any advantage to this nation ; and by the second part of these words it seemed to be resolved to engage this nation in a

continental connexion for the defence of Hanover, which it was impossible for England to support; and which would be so far from being of any advantage to it at sea or in America, that it might at last disable the nation from defending itself in either of those parts of the world: but on putting the question, the inserting of these words was agreed to by a great majority, and accordingly they stand as part of the address of the house on that occasion.

32. To this remarkable address his majesty returned the following as remarkable answer:—‘My lords, I give you my hearty thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address: I see, with the greatest satisfaction, the zeal you express for my person and government, and for the true interest of your country, which I am determined to adhere to: the assurances which you give me for the defence of my territories abroad, are a strong proof of your affection for me and regard for my honor: nothing shall divert me from pursuing those measures which will effectually maintain the possessions and rights of my kingdoms, and procure reasonable and honorable terms of accommodation.’ The address of the house of commons breathed the same spirit of zeal and gratitude, and was full of the warmest assurances of a ready support of his majesty and of his foreign dominions, if attacked in resentment of his maintaining the rights of his crown and kingdom; and his majesty’s answer to it was to the same effect as that to the house of lords: the same, or nearly the same words, relating to the treaties concluded by his majesty, and to the defence of his foreign dominions, were proposed to be inserted in this address, which was opposed by William Pitt, Esq. then paymaster of his majesty’s forces; the right hon. Henry Legge, Esq. then chancellor and under-treasurer of his majesty’s exchequer, and one of the commissioners of the treasury; and by several other gentlemen in high posts under the government, as well as by many others; but, on putting the question, it was by a considerable majority agreed to insert the words objected to; and very soon after, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Legge, and most, if not all of the gentlemen who had appeared in the opposition, were dismissed from their employments: in the mean time, a draught came over from Russia for part of the new subsidy stipulated to that crown; but some of the ministry, who were then at the head of the finances, refused to pay it, at least before the treaty should be approved of by parliament.

33. Sir Thomas Robinson had not been long in possession of the office of secretary of state, before it was generally perceived, that, though an honest, well-meaning man, and a favorite with the king, his abilities were not equal to the functions of that post; much less were they so at this juncture, when the nation was on the point of being engaged in a difficult and expensive war, and plunged into foreign measures and connexions, which would require the utmost skill of an able politician to render them palatable to the people: Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, though they scarce ever agreed in any other particular, had generally united in opposing his measures; and their superior influence in the house of commons, and universally acknowledged abilities, though of very different kinds, had always prevailed, uncommon as it was to see two persons, who held considerable places under the government, one of them being paymaster-general, and the other secretary at war, oppose, on almost every occasion, a secretary of state who was supposed to know and speak the sentiments of his master: Sir Thomas himself soon grew sensible of his want of sufficient weight in the senate of the nation; and therefore, of his own accord, on the tenth of November, wisely and dutifully resigned the seals of his office to his majesty, who delivered them to Mr. Fox, and appointed Sir Thomas master of the wardrobe, with a pension to him during his life, and after his death to his sons: lord Barrington succeeded Mr. Fox as secretary at war; and soon after Sir George Lyttelton was made chancellor of the exchequer and a lord of the treasury, in the room of Mr. Legge, who had declared himself against the new continental system: however, notwithstanding these changes in the ministry, very warm debates arose in both houses, when the treaties of Russia and Hesse-Cassel came to be considered by them: some of the members were for referring them to a committee; but this motion was over-ruled, in consideration of his majesty's having engaged in them to guard against a storm that seemed ready to break on his electoral dominions, merely on account of our quarrel with the French: they were at length approved of by a majority of 318 against 126 in the house of commons, and by eighty-four against eleven in the house of lords.

34. The house of commons then proceeded to provide for the service of the ensuing year, and for the deficiencies of the provisions for the former: 50,000 seamen, including 9138 marines, were voted, on the twenty-fourth of Novem-

ber, for the service of the year 1756, together with £2,600,000 for their maintenance; and 34,263 land soldiers, with £930,603. 6s. 9d. for their support: £100,000 were voted as a subsidy to the empress of Russia; £54,140. 12s. 6d. to the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and £10,000 to the elector of Bavaria.

35. During these transactions, the public was overwhelmed with consternation, by the tidings of a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins: when the news of this great calamity first reached England, it was feared the consequences of it might affect our public credit, considering the vast interest which the English merchants had in the Portuguese trade; but, fortunately, it afterwards proved inconsiderable, in comparison of what had been apprehended; the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, having suffered the least of any part of the city; and most of the English merchants then residing there, together with their families, being at their country-houses to avoid the insults to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their *auto-da-fe*, which was kept that very day. The first two shocks of this dreadful visitation continued near a quarter of an hour, after which the water of the river Tagus rose perpendicularly above twenty feet, and subsided to its natural bed in less than a minute: great numbers of houses, of which this city then contained about 36,000, extending in length near six miles, in form of a crescent, on the ascent of a hill, on the north shore of the mouth of the river Tagus, within nine miles from the ocean, were thrown down by the repeated commotions of the earth, together with several magnificent churches, monasteries, and public buildings: but what intirely completed the ruin of this then most opulent capital of the Portuguese dominions, was a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous or natural, but chiefly occasioned by a set of impious villains, who, unawed by the tremendous scene at that very instant passing before their eyes, with a wickedness scarcely to be credited, set fire even to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to increase the general confusion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already desolated fellow-citizens: out of 350,000 inhabitants, which Lisbon was then supposed to contain, about 10,000 perished by this calamity;

and the survivors, deprived of their habitations, and destitute even of the necessaries of life, were forced to seek for shelter in the open fields.

36. As soon as his majesty received an account of this deplorable event from his ambassador at the court of Madrid, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, on the twenty-eighth of November, acquainting them therewith, and desiring their concurrence and assistance towards speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereon, to the honor of British humanity, unanimously voted, on the eighth of December, a gift of £100,000 for the distressed people of Portugal. A circumstance which enhances the merit of this action, is, that though the English themselves were, at that very time, in great want of grain, a considerable part of the sum was sent in corn, flour, rice, and a large quantity of beef from Ireland;—supplies, which came very seasonably for the poor Portuguese, who were in actual want of the necessaries of life. Their king was so affected by this instance of British generosity, that, to show his gratitude for the timely relief, he ordered Mr. Castres, the British resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects who had suffered by the earthquake; accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions and £2000 in money were set apart for that purpose; and his Portuguese majesty returned his thanks, in very warm terms, to the British crown and nation.

37. The report of an intended invasion of these kingdoms by the French increasing daily, on the twenty-second of January, lord Barrington, as secretary at war, laid before the house an estimate for defraying the charge of ten new regiments of foot, over and above the 34,263 land soldiers before ordered to be raised; and a sum of £91,919. 10s. was voted for these additional forces: on another estimate, presented a little after by the same lord, and founded on the same reasons, for raising, for the farther defence of the kingdom, eleven troops of light dragoons, £49,628. 11s. 3d. were voted for the ensuing year, together with £81,178. 16s. for a regiment of foot to be raised in North-America; £298,534. 17s. 10½d. for the maintenance of our forces already established in our American colonies, and £79,915. 6s. for six regiments of foot from Ireland, to serve in North-America and the East-Indies. Besides all these supplies, Mr. Fox, on the twenty-eighth of January, presented to the house a message from the king, desiring them to take into

consideration the faithful services of the people of New England, and of some other parts of North-America; on which £115,000 more were voted, and £5000 as a reward to Sir William Johnson in particular: in short, including several other sums, as well for defraying the expense of the army and navy as for a subsidy of £20,000 to the king of Prussia, and £121,447. 2s. 6d. for Hanoverian troops, of which last two articles farther notice will be taken hereafter, the whole of the supplies granted by parliament in this session amounted to £7,229,117. 4s. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.: for raising this sum, besides the malt-tax, and the land tax of four shillings in the pound, the whole produce of the sinking-fund, from the fifth of January, 1756, till it should amount to £1,555,955. 11s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was ordered to be applied thereunto; together with £1,000,000 to be raised by loans or exchequer-bills, at three per cent. interest: £1,500,000 to be raised by the sale of redeemable annuities, at three and a half per cent., and £500,000 to be raised by a lottery, at three per cent: all which sums, with £83,412. 2s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., then remaining in the exchequer, amounted to £7,427,261. 5s. 7d.

38. The clause inserted in the mutiny-bill last year subjecting all officers and soldiers raised in America, by authority of the respective governors or governments there, to the same rules and articles of war, and the same penalties and punishments, as the British forces were liable to; the act passed at the same time for regulating the marine forces while on shore, and that for the more speedy and effectual manning of his majesty's navy, were not only confirmed now; but it was farther enacted, with respect to this last, as well as for the more speedy and effectual recruiting of his majesty's land forces, that the commissioners appointed by the present act should be empowered to raise and levy within their respective jurisdictions such able-bodied men as did not follow any lawful calling or employment, or had not some other lawful and sufficient support; and might order, wherever and whenever they pleased, a general search to be made for such persons, in order to their being brought before them to be examined; nay, that the parish or town officers might, without any such order, search for and secure such persons, in order to convey them before the said commissioners to be examined; that if any three commissioners should find any person, so brought before them, to be within the above description, and if the recruiting officer attending should judge him to be a man fit for his majesty's

service; they should cause him to be delivered to such officer, who might secure him in any place of safety provided by the justices of peace for that purpose, or even in any public prison; and that every such man was from that time to be deemed a listed soldier, and not to be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal matter. Nothing could more plainly show either the zeal of the parliament for a vigorous prosecution of the war, or their confidence in the justice and moderation of our ministry, than their agreeing to this act, which was to continue in force till the end of the next session; and which, in the hands of a wicked and enterprising administration, might have been made such a use of, as would have been inconsistent with that security which is provided by our happy constitution for the liberty of the subject.

39. The next object of the immediate attention of parliament in this session was the raising of a new regiment of foot in North-America; for which purpose the sum of £81,178. 16s., to which the estimate thereof amounted, was voted: this regiment, which was to consist of four battalions of 1000 men each, was intended to be raised chiefly out of the Germans and Swiss, who, for many years past, had annually transported themselves in great numbers to the British plantations in America, where waste lands had been assigned them on the frontiers of the provinces; but, very injudiciously, no care had been taken to intermix them with the English inhabitants of the place: to this circumstance it is owing that they have continued to correspond and converse only with one another; so that very few of them, even of those who have been born there, have yet learned to speak or understand the English tongue: however, as they were all zealous protestants, and in general strong hardy men, and accustomed to the climate, it was judged that a regiment of good and faithful soldiers might be raised out of them, particularly proper to oppose the French; but to this end it was necessary to appoint some officers, especially subalterns, who understood military discipline, and could speak the German language; and as a sufficient number of such could not be found among the English officers, it was necessary to bring over and grant commissions to several German and Swiss officers and engineers; but this step, by the act of settlement, could not be taken without the authority of parliament; an act was now passed for enabling his majesty to grant commissions to a certain number of foreign protestants, who had

served abroad as officers or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers in America only: an act was likewise passed in this session, strictly forbidding, under pain of death, any of his majesty's subjects to serve as officers under the French king, or to enlist as soldiers in his service, without his majesty's previous license; and also for obliging such of his majesty's subjects as should, in time to come, accept of commissions in the Scottish brigade in the Dutch service, to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, on pain of forfeiting £500.

40. As it had been resolved, in the beginning of the preceding summer, to build vessels of force on the lake Ontario, an act was now passed for extending the maritime laws of England, relating to the government of his majesty's ships and forces by sea, to such officers, seamen, and others, as should serve on board his majesty's ships or vessels employed on the lakes, great waters, or rivers in North-America; and also, but not without opposition to this last, for the better recruiting of his majesty's forces on the continent of America; to which end, by a new clause now added to a former act, a recruiting officer was empowered to enlist and detain an indented servant, even though his master should reclaim him, on paying to the master such a sum as two justices of peace within the precinct should adjudge to be a reasonable equivalent for the original purchase-money and the remaining time such servant might have to serve.

41. The intestine broils of Ireland were happily composed this year by the prudent management of the marquis of Hartington, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom: by his steady and disinterested conduct, his candor and humanity, the Irish were not only brought to much better temper, even among themselves, than they were before their late outrageous riots and dangerous dissensions happened; but also prevailed on to acquiesce in the measures of England, without this last being obliged to give up any one point of her superiority: the leading men in the parliament of Ireland were the first that conformed; and though the ferment continued very high, for some time after, among the middling and lower ranks of people, it was at length intirely allayed by the wisdom of the lord-lieutenant, and the excellent law, which he encouraged and passed for the benefit of that nation.³ The primate of Ireland, who had been very busy

³ Among other objects of the attention of the legislature of that country, £10,000 were granted for making the river Nore na-

in fomenting many of the late disturbances, was, by his majesty's command, struck off the list of privy-counsellors; and the greatest part of those patriots, whom faction had turned out of their employments there, were reinstated with honor.

42. The parliament of England, which had adjourned on the twenty-third of December, met again; the house of commons on the thirteenth of January, 1756, and the lords on the nineteenth: on the sixteenth of the same month, the treaty between his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia was signed, importing, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve her peace and tranquillity, which it was feared was in danger of being disturbed on account of the disputes in America, the two kings, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass through it during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted. Thus, the late treaty with Russia was virtually renounced. Their majesties, moreover, seized this favorable opportunity to adjust the differences that had subsisted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Silesia loan due to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, and the indemnification claimed by the subjects of his Prussian majesty for their losses by sea during the late war; so that the attachment laid on the said debt was agreed to be taken off as soon as the ratification of this treaty should be exchanged.

43. On the twenty-first of January the house took into consideration the laws then in being relating to the militia of this kingdom; and, finding them insufficient, ordered a new

vigable from the city of Kilkenny to the town of Innestalge; £20,000 towards carrying on an inland navigation from the city of Dublin to the river Shannon; £4000 for making the river Newry navigable; £1000 a year for two years, for the encouragement of English protestant schools; several sums, to be distributed in premiums, for the encouragement of the cambric, hempen, and flaxen manufactures; and £300,000 to his majesty, towards supporting the several branches of the establishment, and for defraying the expenses of the government for two years.

bill to be prepared and brought in, for the better regulating of the militia forces in the several counties of England: a bill was accordingly prepared to that effect, and presented to the house on the twelfth of March by the honorable Charles Townshend, Esq. who, to his honor, was one of the chief promoters of it: after receiving many amendments in the house of commons, it was on the tenth of May passed, and sent to the lords; but several objections being made to it by some of the peers, and it seeming to them that some farther amendments were still necessary, which they thought they could not in that session spare time to consider so maturely as the importance of the subject required, a negative of fifty-nine against twenty-three was put on the motion for passing the bill; though every one must have been sensible, not only of the propriety, but even of the absolute necessity of such a law, which was ardently desired by the whole nation.

44. On the twenty-seventh of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after having given the royal assent to the bills then depending, thanked his parliament, in a speech from the throne, for their vigorous and effectual support: he acquainted them, that the injuries and hostilities, which had been for some time committed by the French against his dominions and subjects, were then followed by the actual invasion of the island of Minorca, though guarantied to him by all the great powers in Europe, and particularly by the French king; that he had therefore found himself obliged, in vindication of the honor of his crown and of the rights of his people, to declare war in form against France; and that he relied on the divine protection, and the vigorous assistance of his faithful subjects, in so just a cause: the parliament was then adjourned to the eighteenth of June, and from thence afterwards to the eighteenth of July; and then it was prorogued.

CHAP. XXV.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1756.

1. Letter from M. Rouillé to the secretary of state—2. The two nations recriminate on each other—3. The French threaten Great Britain with an invasion—4. Requisition of 6000 Dutch troops according to treaty—5. Message from the king to the parliament—6. A body of Hessians and Hanoverians transported into England—7. French preparations at Toulon—8. Admiral Byng sails for the Mediterranean—9. He arrives at Gibraltar—10. Engages M. de la Galissonnière off Minorca,—11. and returns to Gibraltar—12. Ferment of the people at home—13. Admiral Byng superseded, and sent home prisoner—14. Account of the siege of St. Philip's fort, in Minorca—15. Precautions taken by general Blakeney—16. Siege commenced—17. English squadron appears—18. General attack of the works—19. The garrison capitulates—20. Sir Edward Hawke sails to Minorca—21. Rejoicings in France, and clamors in England—22. Gallantry of Fortunatus Wright—23. General Blakeney created a baron—24. Measures taken for the defence of Great Britain—25. Proclamation—26. Earl of Loudoun appointed commander in chief in America—27. His Britannic majesty's declaration of war—28. Substance of the French king's declaration—29. Address of the city of London—30. Trial of general Fowke—31. Affairs of America—32. Colonel Bradstreet defeats a body of French on the river Onondaga—33. Earl of Loudoun arrives at New York—34. Oswego reduced by the enemy—35. Farther proceedings in America—36. Naval operations in that country—37. Transactions in the East-Indies—38. Calcutta besieged by the viceroy of Bengal—39. Deplorable fate of those who perished in the dungeon there—40. Additional cruelties exercised on Mr. Holwell—41. Resolution against Angria—42. Fort of Geria taken by admiral Watson and Mr. Clive—43. Their subsequent proceedings in the river Ganges.

1. IN the month of January, Mr. Fox, lately appointed secretary of state, received a letter from M. Rouillé, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs to the king of France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, on the orders and instructions for committing hostilities, which his Britannic majesty had given to general Braddock and admiral Bozcowen, in diametrical opposition to the most solemn assurances so often repeated by word of mouth as well as in writing: he complained of the insult which had

been offered to his master's flag in attacking and taking two of his ships in the open sea, without any previous declaration of war; as also by committing depredations on the commerce of his most christian majesty's subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, the faith of treaties, and the usages established among civilised nations: he said, the sentiments and character of his Britannic majesty gave the king his master room to expect that at his return to London he would disavow the conduct of his admiralty; but seeing that, instead of punishing, he rather encouraged those who had been guilty of such depredations, his most christian majesty would be deemed deficient in what he owed to his own glory, the dignity of his crown, and the defence of his people, if he deferred any longer demanding a signal reparation for the outrage done to the French flag, and the damage sustained by his subjects: he therefore demanded immediate and full restitution of all the French ships, which, contrary to law and decorum, had been taken by the English navy, together with all the officers, soldiers, mariners, guns, stores, and merchandise: he declared, that should this restitution be made, he should be willing to engage in a negociation for what farther satisfaction he might claim, and continue desirous to see the differences relating to America determined by a solid and equitable accommodation; but if, contrary to all hopes, these demands should be rejected, he would consider such a denial of justice as the most authentic declaration of war, and as a formed design in the court of London to disturb the peace of Europe. To this peremptory remonstrance the British secretary was directed to answer, that though the king of England would readily consent to an equitable and solid accommodation, he would not comply with the demand of immediate and full restitution as a preliminary condition; for his majesty had taken no steps but such as were rendered just and indispensable by the hostilities which the French began in time of profound peace; and a proper regard for his own honor, the rights and possessions of his crown, and the security of his kingdoms.

2. Without all doubt the late transactions had afforded specious arguments for both nations to impeach the conduct of each other: the French court, conscious of their encroachments in Nova Scotia, affected to draw a shade over these, as particulars belonging to a disputed territory, and to divert the attention to the banks of the Ohio, where Jamon-

ville and his detachment had been attacked and massacred by the English without the least provocation: they likewise inveighed against the capture of their ships before any declaration of war, as flagrant acts of piracy; and some neutral powers of Europe seemed to consider them in the same point of view: it was certainly high time to check the insolence of the French by force of arms, and surely this might have been as effectually and expeditiously exerted under the usual sanction of a formal declaration, the omission of which exposed the administration to the censure of our neighbors, and fixed the imputation of fraud and freebooting on the beginning of the war: the ministry was said to have delayed the ceremony of denouncing war from political considerations, supposing that, should the French be provoked into the first declaration of this kind, the powers of Europe would consider his most christian majesty as the aggressor, and Great Britain would reap all the fruits of the defensive alliances in which she had engaged; but nothing could be more weak and frivolous than such a conjecture: the aggressor is he who first violates the peace; and every ally will interpret the aggression according to his own interest and convenience. The administration maintained the appearance of candor in the midst of their hostilities: the merchant ships, of which a great number had been taken from the French, were not sold and divided among the captors, according to the practice of war; but carefully sequestered, with all their cargoes and effects, in order to be restored to their right owners, in case the disputes between the two nations should not be productive of an open rupture: in this particular however it was pity that a little common sense had not been blended with their honorable intention: great part of the cargoes consisted of fish, and other perishable commodities, which were left to rot and putrefy, and afterwards thrown overboard, to prevent contagion; so that the owners and captors were equally disappointed, and the value of them lost to both nations.

3. The court of Versailles, while they presented remonstrances which they knew would prove ineffectual, and exclaimed against the conduct of Great Britain with all the arts of calumny and exaggeration at every court in christendom, continued nevertheless to make such preparations as denoted a design to prosecute the war with uncommon vigor: they began to repair and fortify Dunkirk; orders were published, that all British subjects should quit the dominions of

France; many English vessels were seized in the different ports of that kingdom, and their crews sent to prison: at the same time, an edict was issued, inviting the French subjects to equip privateers, offering a premium of forty livres for every gun, and as much for every man they should take from the enemy; and promising that, in case a peace should be speedily concluded, the king would purchase the privateers at prime cost: they employed great numbers of artificers and seamen in equipping a formidable squadron of ships at Brest; and assembling a strong body of land forces, as well as a considerable number of transports, threatened the island of Great Britain with a dangerous invasion.

4. The English people were seized with consternation; the ministry were alarmed and perplexed: colonel Yorke, the British resident at the Hague, was ordered by his majesty to make requisition of the 6000 men, whom the States-General are obliged by treaty to furnish when Great Britain shall be threatened with an invasion; and in February he presented a memorial for this purpose: M. d'Affry, the French king's minister at the Hague, having received intimation of his demand, produced a counter-memorial from his master, charging the English as the aggressors, and giving the States-General plainly to understand, that, should they grant the succors demanded by Great Britain, he would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself. The Dutch, though divided among themselves by faction, were unanimously averse to any measure that might involve them in the approaching war: their commerce was in a great measure decayed, and their finances were too much exhausted to admit of an immediate augmentation of their forces, which for many other reasons they strove to avoid: they foresaw a great increase of trade in their adhering to a punctual neutrality; they were afraid of the French by land, and jealous of the English by sea; and perhaps enjoyed the prospect of seeing these two proud and powerful nations humble and impoverish each other. Certain it is, the States-General protracted their answer to Mr. Yorke's memorial by such affected delays, that the court of London perceived their intention; and, in order to avoid the mortification of a flat denial, the king ordered his resident to acquaint the princess-regent, that he would not insist on this demand: the States, thus freed from their perplexity, at length delivered an answer to Mr. Yorke, in which they expatiated on the difficulties they were laid under, and thanked his Britannic majesty for

having freed them by his declaration from that embarrassment into which they were thrown by his first demand and the counter-memorial of the French minister: the real sentiments of those people, however, more plainly appeared in the previous resolution delivered to the states of Holland by the towns of Amsterdam, Dort, Haerlem, Gouda, Rotterdam, and Enckhuysen, declaring flatly that England was uncontrovertibly the aggressor in Europe, by seizing a considerable number of French vessels; that the threatened invasion of Great Britain did not affect the republic's guarantee of the protestant succession, inasmuch as it was only intended to obtain reparation for the injury sustained by the subjects of his most christian majesty; finally, that the succors demanded could be of no advantage to the king of England; as it appeared by the declaration of his most christian majesty, that their granting these succors would immediately lay them under a necessity of demanding in their turn assistance from Great Britain. From this way of arguing, the English may perceive what they have to expect in cases of emergency from the friendship of their nearest allies, who must always be furnished with the same excuse, whenever they find it convenient or necessary to their own interest: such a consideration, joined to other concurring motives, ought to induce the British legislature to withdraw its dependence from all foreign connexions, and provide such a constitutional force within itself, as will be fully sufficient to baffle all the efforts of an external enemy. The apprehensions and distraction of the people at this juncture plainly evinced the expediency of such a national force; but different parties were divided in their opinions about the nature of such a provision: some of the warmest friends of their country proposed a well-regulated militia, as an institution that would effectually answer the purpose of defending a wide extended sea-coast from invasion; while, on the other hand, this proposal was ridiculed and refuted as impracticable or useless by all the retainers to the court, and all the officers of the standing army: in the mean time, as the experiment could not be immediately tried, and the present juncture demanded some instant determination, recourse was had to a foreign remedy.

5. Towards the latter end of March, the king sent a written message to parliament, intimating, that he had received repeated advices from different persons and places, that a design had been formed by the French court to invade

Great Britain or Ireland; and the great preparations of forces, ships, artillery, and warlike stores, then notoriously making in the ports of France opposite to the British coasts, together with the language of the French ministers in some foreign courts, left little room to doubt the reality of such a design; that his majesty had augmented his forces both by sea and land, and taken proper measures and precautions for putting his kingdom in a posture of defence; that, in order farther to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of a body of Hessian troops, pursuant to the late treaty, to be forthwith brought over, and for that purpose ordered transports to be prepared; that he doubted not of being enabled and supported by his parliament in taking such measures as might be conducive to an end so essential to the honor of his crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of these kingdoms. This message was no sooner received, than both houses voted, composed, and presented very warm and affectionate addresses, in which his majesty was thanked for the requisition he had made of the Hessian troops;—a measure, which at any other time would have been stigmatised with all the satire and rhetoric of the opposition.

6. Even this precaution was not thought sufficient to secure the island, and quiet the terrors of the people: in a few days, Mr. Fox, the new minister, encouraged by the unanimity which had appeared so conspicuous in the motions for the late addresses, ventured to move again, in the house of commons, that another address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty, that for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects against the threatened attack by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom: there was a considerable party in the house to whom such a motion was odious and detestable; but considering the critical situation of affairs, they were afraid that a direct opposition might expose them to a more odious suspicion; they therefore moved for the order of the day, and insisted on the question's being put on that motion; but it was carried in the negative by a considerable majority, which also agreed to the other proposal: the resolution of the house was communicated to the lords, who unanimously con-

curred ; and their joint address being presented, his majesty assured them he would immediately comply with their request : accordingly, such expedition was used, that in the course of the next month both Hanoverians and Hessians arrived in England, and encamped in different parts of the kingdom. As the fears of an invasion subsided in the minds of the people, their antipathy to these foreign auxiliaries emerged : they were beheld with the eyes of jealousy, suspicion, and disdain : they were treated with contempt, reserve, and rigor : the ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such a low circumstance of disgrace, as that they should owe their security to German mercenaries : there were not wanting some incendiaries, who circulated hints and insinuations, that the kingdom had been purposely left unprovided, and that the natives of South-Britain had been formerly subdued and expelled by a body of Saxon auxiliaries, whom they had hired for their preservation : in a word, the doubts and suspicions of a people naturally blunt and jealous were inflamed to such a degree of animosity, that nothing would have restrained them from violent acts of outrage, but the most orderly, modest, and inoffensive behavior, by which both the Hanoverians and Hessians were distinguished.

7. Under the cloak of an invading armament which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year, advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon : this was afterwards confirmed by repeated intelligence, not only from foreign gazettes, but also from English ministers and consuls residing in Spain and Italy : they affirmed that the Toulon squadron consisted of twelve or fifteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports ; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America ; and that strong bodies of troops were on their march from different parts of the French dominions to Dauphiny and Provence in order to be embarked. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition ; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean ; no care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the

designs of the enemy: that great province was left to a few inconsiderable ships and frigates, which could serve no other purpose than that of carrying intelligence from port to port, and enriching their commanders, by making prize of merchant vessels: nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of general Blakeney, deputy-governor of Minorca, who in repeated advices represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle, the chief fortress on the island: far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England on leave of absence; nor give directions for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent on that island.⁴

⁴ It is with pleasure we seize this opportunity of recording an instance of gallantry and patriotism in a British officer, which would have done honor to the character of a Roman tribune. Captain Cunningham, an accomplished young gentleman, who acted as engineer in second at Minorca, being preferred to a majority at home, and recalled to his regiment by an express order, had repaired with his family to Nice in Italy, where he waited for the opportunity of a ship bound for England, when he received certain intelligence that the French armament was destined for the place he had quitted: his lady, whom he tenderly loved, was just delivered, and two of his children were dangerously ill of the small-pox: he recollected that the chief engineer of Minorca was infirm, and indeed disabled by the gout, and that many things were wanting for the defence of the fortress: his zeal for the honor and service of his country immediately triumphed over the calls of tenderness and of nature: he expended a considerable sum of money in purchasing timber for the platforms, and other necessaries for the garrison; hired a ship for transporting them thither; and tearing himself from his wife and children, thus left among strangers in a foreign country, embarked again for Minorca, where he knew he should be in a peculiar manner exposed to all the dangers of a furious siege. In the course of this desperate service he acquitted himself with that vigilance, skill, and active courage, which he had on divers former occasions displayed, until the assault was given to the queen's bastion; when mixing with the enemy sword in hand, he was disabled in his right arm by the shot of a musket and the thrust of a bayonet: his behavior was so acceptable to his sovereign, that when he returned to England he was preferred to the rank of colonel in the guards: he afterwards acted as chief engineer in the attempts and descents which were made on the French coast: though grievously maimed, he accepted the same office in the expedition to Guadaloupe, where he died universally regretted.

8. At length, the destination of the enemy's fleet being universally known, the ministry seemed to rouse from their lethargy, and like persons suddenly waking, acted with hurry and precipitation: instead of detaching a squadron that in all respects should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and bestowing the command of it on an officer of approved courage and activity, they allotted no more than ten ships of the line for this service, vesting the command of them in admiral Byng, who had never met with any occasion to signalise his courage, and whose character was not very popular in the navy; but Mr. West, the second in command, was a gentleman universally respected for his probity, ability, and resolution. The ten ships destined for this expedition were but in very indifferent order, poorly manned, and unprovided with either hospital or fire-ship: they sailed from Spithead on the seventh of April, having on board, as part of their complement, a regiment of soldiers to be landed at Gibraltar, with major-general Stuart, lord Effingham, and colonel Cornwallis, whose regiments were in garrison at Minorca; about forty inferior officers, and near 100 recruits, as a reinforcement to St. Philip's fortress.

9. After all the intelligence which had been received, one would imagine the government of England was still ignorant of the enemy's force and destination; for the instructions delivered to admiral Byng imported, that, on his arrival at Gibraltar, he should inquire whether any French squadron had passed through the straits; and that, being certified in the affirmative, as it was probably designed for North-America, he should immediately detach rear-admiral West to Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton, with such a number of ships, as, when joined with those at Halifax, would constitute a force superior to the armament of the enemy. On the second of May, admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, where he found captain Edgecumbe, with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop, who informed him that the French armament, commanded by M. de la Galissonnière, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of 15,000 land forces, had sailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, and made a descent on the island of Minorca, from whence he (captain Edgecumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach: general Fowke, who commanded at Gibraltar, had received two successive orders from the secretary at war, with

respect to his sparing a battalion of troops to be transported by Mr. Byng, as a reinforcement to Minorca; but as the two orders appeared inconsistent or equivocal, a council of war was consulted, and the majority were of opinion that no troops should be sent from thence to Minorca, except a detachment to supply the deficiency in the little squadron of captain Edgecumbe, who had left a good number of his seamen and mariners under the command of captain Scroop, to assist in the defence of Fort St. Philip: these articles of intelligence the admiral despatched by an express to the lords of the admiralty, and in his letter made use of some impolitic expressions, which, in all probability, it would have been well for him had he omitted: he said, if he had been so happy as to have arrived at Mahon before the French had landed, he flattered himself he should have been able to prevent their getting a footing on that island: he complained that there were no magazines in Gibraltar for supplying the squadron with necessaries; that the careening-wharfs, pits, and store-houses were intirely decayed, so that he should find the greatest difficulty in cleaning the ships that were foul; and this was the case with some of those he carried out from England, as well as with those which had been for some time cruising in the Mediterranean: he signified his opinion, that, even if it should be found practicable, it would be very impolitic to throw any men into St. Philip's castle, which could not be saved without a land force sufficient to raise the siege; therefore a small reinforcement would only add so many men to the number which must fall into the hands of the enemy: he observed, that such engineers and artillery-men in Gibraltar as had been at Minorca, were of opinion, that it would be impossible to throw any number of men into St. Philip's, if the French had erected batteries on the two shores near the entrance of the harbor, so as to bar all passage up to the sally-port of the fortress; and with this opinion he signified the concurrence of his own sentiments. The first part of this letter was a downright impeachment of the ministry for having delayed the expedition, for having sent out ships unfit for service, and for having neglected the magazines and wharfs at Gibraltar: in the latter part he seemed to prepare them for the subsequent account of his misconduct and miscarriage: it cannot be supposed that they underwent this accusation without apprehension and resentment; and as they foresaw the loss of Minorca, which would not fail to

excite a national clamor, perhaps they now began to take measures for gratifying their resentment, and transferring the blame from themselves to the person who had presumed to hint a disapprobation of their conduct: for this purpose they could not have found a fairer opportunity than Mr. Byng's subsequent behavior afforded.

10. The admiral, being strengthened by Mr. Edgecumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the eighth of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, under the command of captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received, touching the strength and destination of the French squadron: when he approached Minorca, he descried the British colors still flying at the castle of St. Philip, and several bomb batteries playing on it from different quarters where the French banners were displayed: thus informed, he detached three ships ahead, with captain Hervey, to reconnoitre the harbor's mouth, and land, if possible, a letter for general Blakeney, giving him to understand the fleet was come to his assistance: before this attempt could be made, the French fleet appearing to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he recalled his ships, and formed the line of battle: about six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of seventeen ships, thirteen of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage: Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land wind in the morning, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola. At daylight the enemy could not be descried; but two tartanes appearing close to the rear of the English squadron, they were immediately chased by signal: one escaped; and the other, being taken, was found to have on board two French captains, two lieutenants, and about 100 private soldiers, part of 600 who had been sent out in tartanes the preceding day, to reinforce the enemy's squadron: this soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side; and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage: at this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it to be impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind; and closing down on the enemy, attacked them with such

impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line: had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a complete victory; but the other division did not bear down; and the enemy's centre keeping that station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risk of seeing his communication with the rest of the line intirely cut off. In the beginning of the action, the *Intrepid*, in Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position; a circumstance, which obliged several others to throw all aback, in order to avoid confusion, and for some time retarded the action: certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of ninety guns, made little or no use of his artillery, but kept aloof, either from an overstrained observance of discipline or timidity: when his captain exhorted him to bear down on the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broken the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain: Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line intire; and, on pretence of rectifying the disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. M. de la Galissonnière seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle: part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not choose to abide the consequence of a closer fight with an enemy so expert in naval operation: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited: the English admiral gave chase; but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close them again; so they retired at their leisure: then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

11. While he lay-to with the rest of his fleet, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to

look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly; and made an inquiry into the condition of the squadron: the number of killed amounted to forty-two, including captain Andrews, of the *Defiance*, and about 168 were wounded: three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea with any regard to their safety; a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land officers were present: he represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort; and therefore they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection: they unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney, it is not easy to determine, as no experiment was made for that purpose: indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of his conduct; for it afterwards appeared that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the sally-port without running any great risk; and a gentleman then in the fort actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

12. Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors: whatever use might have been made of this letter, while it remained a secret to the public, we shall not pretend to explain; but sure it is, that, on the sixteenth of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the admirals Byng and West in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twenty-sixth of the same month, when it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired: the populace took fire like a train of the most hasty

combustibles, and broke out into such a clamor of rage and indignation against the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion: this animosity was carefully fomented and maintained by artful emissaries, who mingled with all public assemblies, from the drawing-room at St. James's to the mob at Charing-cross: they expatiated on the insolence, the folly, the cowardice, and misconduct of the unhappy admiral: they even presumed to make their sovereign in some measure an instrument of their calumny, by suggesting, that his majesty had prognosticated Byng's misbehavior from the contents of his first letter, dated at Gibraltar: they ridiculed and refuted the reasons he had given for returning to that fortress, after his scandalous rencounter with the French squadron; and, in order to exasperate them to the most implacable resentment, they exaggerated the terrible consequences of losing Minorca, which must now be subdued through his treachery or want of resolution: in a word, he was devoted as the scapegoat of the ministry, to whose supine negligence, ignorance, and misconduct the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune: in order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices; agents were employed to vilify his person in all public places of vulgar resort, and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

13. The two officers who succeeded to the command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by lord Tyrawley, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar; that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry for not having understood an order which was unintelligible: by the same conveyance, a letter from the secretary to the admiralty was transmitted to Mr. Byng, giving him notice that he was recalled: to this intimation he replied in such a manner as denoted a consciousness of having done his duty, and a laudable desire to vindicate his own conduct: his answer contained a farther account of the engagement in which he was supposed to have misbehaved, intermixed with some puerile calculations of the enemy's superiority in weight of

metal, which served no other purpose than that of exposing his character still more to ridicule and abuse; and he was again so impolitic as to hazard certain expressions, which added fresh fuel to the resentment of his enemies. Directions were immediately despatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home in arrest, and an order to the same purport was lodged at every port in the kingdom; precautions, which, however unnecessary to secure the person of a man who longed ardently to justify his character by a public trial, were yet productive of considerable effect in augmenting the popular odium. Admiral Byng immediately embarked in the ship which had carried out his successor, and was accompanied by Mr. West, general Fowke, and several other officers of that garrison, who were also recalled, in consequence of having subscribed to the result of the council of war, which we have mentioned above: when they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a gracious reception from his majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich-hospital.

14. In the mean time, the siege of St. Philip's fort in Minorca was prosecuted with unremitting vigor: the armament of Toulon, consisting of the fleet commanded by M. de la Galissonnière, and the troops under the duke de Richelieu, arrived on the eighteenth of April at the port of Ciudadella, on that part of the island opposite to Mahon, or St. Philip's, and immediately began to disembark their forces: two days before they reached the island, general Blakeney had, by a packet-boat, received certain intelligence of their approach, and began to make preparations for the defence of the castle: the fort which he commanded was very extensive, surrounded with numerous redoubts, ravelins, and other outworks; and provided with subterranean galleries, mines, and traverses, cut out of the solid rock with incredible labor: on the whole this was one of the best fortified places in Europe, well supplied with artillery, ammunition, and provision; and, without all doubt, might have sustained the most desperate siege, had it been defended by a numerous garrison, conducted by able engineers, under the eye and auspices of an active and skilful commander: all these advantages, however, did not concur on this occasion: the number of troops in Minorca did not exceed four regiments, whereas the nature of the works required at least double the number; and, even of these, above forty officers were absent: the chief engineer

was rendered lame by the gout, and the general himself oppressed with the infirmities of old age: the natives of the island might have been serviceable as pioneers, or day-laborers; but, from their hatred to the protestant religion, they were generally averse to the English government, although they had lived happily and grown wealthy under its influence.

15. The governor ordered his officers to beat up for volunteers in the adjacent town of St. Philip's; but few or none would enlist under his banners, and it seems he would not venture to compel them into the service: he recalled all his advanced parties; and, in particular, a company posted at Fornelles, where a small redoubt had been raised, and five companies at Ciudadella, a post fortified with two pieces of cannon, which were now withdrawn as soon as the enemy began to disembark their forces: at the same time, major Cunningham was detached with a party to break down the bridges, and break up the roads between that place and St. Philip's; but the task of destroying the roads could not be performed in such a hurry, on account of the hard rock which runs along the surface of the ground through this whole island; nor was there time to demolish the town of St. Philip's, which stood so near the fort, that the enemy could not fail to take advantage of its neighborhood: the streets served them for trenches, which otherwise could not have been dug through the solid rock: here they made a lodgement close to the works; here they found convenient barracks and quarters of refreshment, masks for their batteries, and an effectual cover for their mortars and bombardiers. The general has been blamed for leaving the town standing; but if we consider his uncertainty concerning the destination of the French armament; the odious nature of such a precaution, which could not fail to exasperate the inhabitants: and the impossibility of executing such a scheme after the first appearance of the enemy, he will be found excusable, if not altogether blameless: some houses and windmills were actually demolished, so as to clear the esplanade and the approaches: all the wine in the cellars of St. Philip's town was destroyed, and the butts were carried into the castle, where they might serve for gabions and traverses: five and twenty Minorquin bakers were hired, and a large number of cattle brought into the fort, for the benefit of the garrison: the ports were walled up, the posts assigned, the sentinels placed, and all the different guards appointed.

Commodore Edgecumbe, who then anchored in the harbor of Mahon close under the walls of the castle, sailed away with his little squadron, consisting of the *Chesterfield*, *Princess Louisa*, *Portland*, and *Dolphin*, after having left all his marines, a detachment from Gibraltar, the whole crew of the *Porcupine* sloop, and the greater part of the *Dolphin's*, as a reinforcement to the fort, under the immediate direction and command of captain Scroop, of the *Dolphin*, who with great gallantry offered himself for this severe duty, and bravely signalised himself during the whole siege. The French admiral might certainly have blocked up this harbor in such a manner as would have prevented the escape of these ships, and divers other rich merchant vessels, which happened then to be at Mahon; but, in all probability, they purposely allowed them to abandon the place, which, on any emergency or assault, their crews and officers would have considerably reinforced: the enemy were perfectly acquainted with the great extent of the works and the weakness of the garrison, from which circumstance they derived the most sanguine hopes that the place might be suddenly taken, without the trouble of a regular siege: after Mr. Edgecumbe had sailed for Gibraltar, and general Blakeney had ordered a sloop to be sunk in the channel that leads to the harbor, the French squadron made its appearance at this part of the island; but, without having attempted any thing against the fort, fell to leeward of Cape Mola: next day they came in sight again, but soon bore away, and never afterwards, during the whole course of the siege, approached so near as to give the garrison the least disturbance.

16. On the twenty-second of April, the governor sent a drummer to the French general with a letter, desiring to know his reasons for invading the island: to this an answer was returned by the duke de Richelieu, declaring he was come with intention to reduce the island under the dominion of his most christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the conduct of his master, who had seized and detained the ships belonging to the king of France and his subjects. If we may judge from the first operations of this nobleman, he was but indifferently provided with engineers; for, instead of beginning his approaches on the side of St. Philip's town, close by the outworks, where he might have been screened from the fire of the garrison, his batteries were erected at Cape Mola, on the other side of the harbor, where they were more exposed, their fire much less effectual, and indeed at

too great a distance to be of any service. The fire of St. Philip's was so severe, and the cannon so well served on this quarter, that in a little time the enemy thought proper to change their plan of attack, and advance on the side of St. Philip's town, which ought to have been the first object of their consideration, especially as they could find little or no earth to fill their gabions, and open their trenches in the usual form: on the twelfth of May, about nine at night, they opened two bomb batteries near the place where the windmills had been destroyed; and from that period an incessant fire was kept up on both sides from mortars and cannon; the French continuing to raise new batteries in every situation from whence they could annoy the besieged.

17. On the seventeenth of the month, the garrison were transported with joy at sight of the British squadron, commanded by admiral Byng; and Mr. Boyd, commissary of the stores, ventured to embark in a small boat, with six oars, which passed from St. Stephen's cove, a creek on the west side of the fortification, through a shower of cannon and musketry from the enemy's post on the other side, and actually reached the open sea, his design being to join the squadron; but this being at a great distance, stretching away to the southward, and Mr. Boyd perceiving himself chased by two of the enemy's light vessels, he returned by the same route to the garrison, without having sustained the least damage: a circumstance, which plainly confutes the notion of Mr. Byng, that it was impracticable to open a communication with the garrison of St. Philip: next day the hopes of the besieged, which had prognosticated a naval victory to the British squadron, a speedy relief to themselves, and no less than captivity to the assailants, were considerably damped by the appearance of the French fleet, which quietly returned to their station off the harbor of Mahon: the same evening they were told by a deserter that the English fleet had been worsted in an engagement by M. de la Galissonnière; and this information was soon confirmed by a general discharge, or *feu de joie*, through the whole French camp, to celebrate the victory they pretended to have obtained. How little soever they had reason to boast of any advantage in the action, the retreat of the English squadron was undoubtedly equivalent to a victory; for had Mr. Byng acquired and maintained the superiority at sea, the French forces, which had been disembarked in Minorca, would in all probability have been obliged to sur-

render prisoners of war to his Britannic majesty: the case was now much altered in their favor: their squadron cruised about the island without molestation; and they daily received, by means of their transports, reinforcements of men and ammunition, as well as constant supplies of provisions.

18. The English garrison, however mortified at finding themselves thus abandoned, resolved to acquit themselves with gallantry in the defence of the place, not without some remaining hope that the English squadron would be reinforced, and return to their relief: in the mean time, they sustained and retorted the enemy's fire with undaunted resolution: they remounted cannon, the carriages of which had been disabled; they removed them occasionally to places from whence it was judged they could do the greatest execution; they repaired breaches, restored merlons, and labored with surprising alacrity, even when they were surrounded by the numerous batteries of the foe; when their embrasures, and even the parapets, were demolished, and they stood exposed not only to the cannon and mortars, but also to the musketry, which fired on them without ceasing from the windows of the houses in the town of St. Philip. By this time, they were invested with an army of 20,000 men, and plied incessantly from sixty-two battering cannon, twenty-one mortars, and four howitzers, besides the small arms; nevertheless, the loss of men within the fortress was very inconsiderable, the garrison being mostly secured in the subterranean works, which were impenetrable to shells or shot: by the twenty-seventh of June they had made a practicable breach in one of the ravelins, and damaged the other outworks to such a degree, that they determined this night to give a general assault: accordingly, between the hours of ten and eleven, they advanced to the attack from all quarters on the land side; at the same time, a strong detachment in armed boats attempted to force the harbor, and penetrate into the creek called St. Stephen's Cove, to storm Fort Charles, and second the attack on Fort Marlborough, on the farther side of the creek, the most detached of all the outworks. The enemy advanced with great intrepidity; and their commander, the duke de Richelieu, is said to have led them up to the works in person: such an assault could not but be attended with great slaughter: they were mowed down, as they approached, with grape-shot and musketry; and several mines were sprung with great effect; so that the glacis was

almost covered with the dying and the dead: nevertheless, they persevered with uncommon resolution; and, though repulsed on every other side, at length made a lodgement in the queen's redoubt, which had been greatly damaged by their cannon: whether their success in this quarter was owing to the weakness of the place or to the timidity of the defender, certain it is, the enemy were in possession before it was known to the officers of the garrison; for lieutenant-colonel Jeffries, the second in command, who had acquitted himself since the beginning of the siege with equal courage, skill, and activity, in his visitation of this post was suddenly surrounded and taken by a file of French grenadiers, at a time when he never dreamed they had made a lodgement: major Cunningham, who accompanied him, met with a severer fate, though he escaped captivity: he was run through the arm with a bayonet; and the piece being discharged at the same time, shattered the bones of his hand in such a manner, that he was maimed for life: in this shocking condition he retired behind a traverse, and was carried home to his quarters. Thus the governor was deprived of his two principal assistants, one being taken and the other disabled.

19. The enemy having made themselves masters of Anstruther's and the queen's redoubts, from which perhaps they might have been dislodged had a vigorous effort been made for that purpose; before they had leisure to secure themselves, the duke de Richelieu ordered a parley to be beat, in order to obtain permission to bury the dead and remove the wounded: this request was granted with more humanity than discretion; inasmuch as the enemy took this opportunity to throw a reinforcement of men privately into the places where the lodgements had been made, and these penetrated into the gallery of the mines which communicated with all the other outworks. During this short cessation, general Blakeney summoned a council of war to deliberate on the state of the fort and garrison; and the majority declared for a capitulation: the works were in many places ruined; the body of the castle was shattered; many guns were dismounted, the embrasures and parapets demolished, the palisados broken in pieces, the garrison exhausted with hard duty and incessant watching, and the enemy in possession of the subterranean communications: besides, the governor had received information from prisoners, that the duke de Richelieu was alarmed by a report that the marshal

duke de Belleisle would be sent to supersede him in the command, and for that reason would hazard another desperate assault, which it was the opinion of the majority the garrison could not sustain. These considerations, added to the despair of being relieved, induced him to demand a capitulation; but this measure was not taken with the unanimous consent of the council: some officers observed, that the garrison was very little diminished, and still in good spirits; that no breach was made in the body of the castle, nor a single cannon erected to batter in breach; that the loss of an outwork was never deemed a sufficient reason for surrendering such a fortress; that the counterscarp was not yet taken, nor, on account of the rocky soil, could be taken, except by assault, which would cost the enemy a greater number than they had lost in their late attempt; that they could not attack the ditch, or batter in breach, before the counterscarp should be taken, and even then they must have recourse to galleries before they could pass the fossé, which was furnished with mines and countermines: finally, they suggested, that in all probability the British squadron would be reinforced, and sail back to their relief; or, if it should not return, it was the duty of the governor to defend the place to extremity, without having any regard to the consequences. These remarks being over-ruled, the chamade was beat, a conference ensued, and very honorable conditions were granted to the garrison, in consideration of the gallant defence they had made: this it must be owned was vigorous while it lasted, as the French general was said to have lost 5000 men in the siege; whereas the loss of the garrison, which at first fell short of 3000 men, did not exceed 100. The capitulation imported, that the garrison should march out with all the honors of war, and be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar: the French were put in possession of one gate, as well as Fort Charles and Marlborough redoubt; but the English troops remained in the other works till the seventh of July, when they embarked: in the mean time reciprocal civilities passed between the commanders and officers of both nations.

20. The articles of capitulation were no sooner executed, than M. de la Galissonnière sailed back to Toulon, with all the prizes which had lain at anchor in the harbor of Mahon, since the fort of St. Philip was first invested: in all probability, the safety of himself and his whole squadron was owing to this expeditious retreat; for in a few days after the

surrender of the fort, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet, augmented by five ships of the line, which had been sent from England when the first tidings arrived of Minorca's being invaded, now made its appearance off the island; but by this time Galissonnière was retired, and the English admiral had the mortification to see the French colors flying on St. Philip's castle. What, perhaps, chagrined this gallant officer still more, he was not provided with frigates, sloops, and small craft to cruise round the island, and intercept the supplies which were daily sent to the enemy: had he reached Minorca sooner, he might have discomfited the French squadron; but he could not have raised the siege of St. Philip's, because the duke de Richelieu had received his reinforcements, and such a train of artillery, as no fortification could long withstand: indeed, if the garrison had been considerably reinforced, and the communication with it opened by sea, the defence would have been protracted, and so many vigorous sallies might have been made, that their assailants would have had cause to repent of their enterprise.

21. When the news of this conquest was brought to Versailles by the count of Egmont, whom the duke de Richelieu had despatched for that purpose, the people of France were transported with the most extravagant joy: nothing was seen but triumphs and processions; nothing heard but anthems, congratulations, and hyperbolical encomiums on the conqueror of Minorca, who was celebrated in a thousand poems and studied orations; while the conduct of the English was vilified and ridiculed in ballads, farces, and pasquinades. Nothing more argues the degeneracy of a warlike nation than the pride of such mean triumph, for an advantage, which in more vigorous times would scarce have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*: nor is this childish exultation, that disgraces the laurels of victory, confined to the kingdom of France: truth obliges us to own, that even the subjects of Great Britain are apt to be elevated by success into an illiberal insolence of self-applause and contemptuous comparison: this must be condemned as a proof of unmanly arrogance and absurd self-conceit, by all those who coolly reflect, that the events of war generally, if not always, depend on the genius or misconduct of one individual. The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited a universal

clamor of rage and resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron, but also in reproach of the administration, which was taxed with having neglected the security of Minorca: nay, some politicians were inflamed into a suspicion, that this important place had been negatively betrayed into the hands of the enemy; that in case the arms of Great Britain should prosper in other parts of the world, the French king might have some sort of equivalent to restore for the conquests which should be abandoned at the peace: this notion, however, seems to have been conceived from prejudice and party, which now began to appear with the most acrimonious aspect, not only throughout the united kingdom in general, but even in the sovereign's councils.

22. Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering La Galissonnière, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up the squadron in the harbor of Toulon: understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ships of war, to insist in a peremptory manner on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and captain; and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from the court of Vienna. The person in whose behalf the admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had in the last war equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner by his uncommon vigilance and valor, that if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved as honorable a place in the annals of the navy, as that which the French have bestowed on their boasted Guai Trouin, Du Bart, and Thurot: an uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture: while he lay at anchor in the harbor of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebec, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view of the harbor, in order to interrupt the British commerce: the gallant Wright could not endure this insult: notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and

number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore; and, after a very obstinate dispute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the *xebeque* were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbor in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalised himself by many other exploits, had he not, in the sequel, been overtaken in the midst of his career by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

23. Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's posts, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay for the protection of our commerce, which in those parts soon began to suffer extremely from French privateers, that now swarmed in the Mediterranean. General Blakeney had arrived with the garrison of Minorca, at Portsmouth, in the month of November, and been received with expressions of tumultuous joy: every place through which he passed celebrated his return with bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringing, and acclamations; every mouth was opened in his praise, extolling him for the gallant defence he had made in the castle of St. Philip: in a word, the people's veneration for Blakeney increased in proportion to their abhorrence of Byng: the first was lifted into an idol of admiration, while the other sunk into an object of reproach; and they were viewed at different ends of a false perspective, through the medium of prejudice and passion; of a perspective artfully contrived, and applied by certain ministers for the purposes of self-interest and deceit. The sovereign is said to have been influenced by the prepossession of the subject: Mr. Blakeney met with a gracious reception from his majesty, who raised him to the rank of an Irish baron in consideration of his faithful services, while some malcontents murmured at this mark of favor as an unreasonable sacrifice to popular misapprehension.

24. In the beginning of the year, the measures taken by the government in England seem to have been chiefly dictated by the dread of an invasion, from which the ministers did not think themselves secured by the guard-ships and cruisers on different parts of the coast, or the standing army of the kingdom, though reinforced by the two bodies of

German auxiliaries: a considerable number of new troops was levied; the success in recruiting was not only promoted by the landholders throughout the kingdom, who thought their estates were at stake, and for that reason encouraged their dependents to engage in the service; but also in a great measure owing to a dearth of corn, which reduced the lower class of laborers to such distress, that some insurrections were raised, and many enlisted with a view to obtain a livelihood, which otherwise they could not earn: new ships of war were built, and daily put in commission; but it was found impracticable to man them, without having recourse to the odious and illegal practice of impressing sailors, which must always be a reproach to every free people: notwithstanding large bounties, granted by the government to volunteers, it was found necessary to lay an embargo on all shipping, and impress all the seamen that could be found, without any regard to former protections; so that all the merchant ships were stripped of their hands, and foreign commerce for some time wholly suspended: nay, the expedient of compelling men into the service was carried to an unusual degree of oppression; for rewards were publicly offered to those who should discover where any seamen lay concealed; so that those unhappy people were in some respects treated like felons, dragged from their families and connexions to confinement, mutilation, and death, and totally cut off from the enjoyment of that liberty, which, perhaps, at the expense of their lives, their own arms had helped to preserve, in favor of their ungrateful country.⁵

25. About eighty ships of the line and threescore frigates were already equipped, and considerable bodies of land forces assembled, when, on the third of February, a proclamation was issued, requiring all officers, civil and military, on the first appearance of any hostile attempt to land

⁵ At this juncture, a number of public-spirited merchants of the city of London, and others, formed themselves in a very laudable association, under the name of the Marine Society, and contributed considerable sums of money for equipping such orphans, friendless, and forlorn boys, as were willing to engage in the service of the navy: in consequence of this excellent plan, which was executed with equal zeal and discretion, many thousands were rescued from misery, and rendered useful members of that society, of which they must have been the bane and reproach without this humane interposition.

on the coasts of the kingdom, immediately to cause all horses, oxen or cattle, which might be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in the king's service, or in the defence of the country, and also, so far as might be practicable, all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where such hostile attempt should be made; and to secure the same, so as that they might not fall into the hands or power of those who should make such attempt; regard being had, however, that the respective owners should suffer as little damage as might be consistent with the public safety.

26. As the ministry were determined to make their chief efforts against the enemy in North-America, where the first hostilities had been committed, and where the strongest impression could be made, a detachment of two regiments was sent thither, under the conduct of general Abercrombie, appointed as successor to general Shirley, whom they had recalled, as a person no ways qualified to conduct military operations: nor, indeed, could any success in war be expected from a man who had not been trained to arms, nor ever acted but in a civil capacity: but the command in chief of all the forces in America was conferred on the earl of Loudoun, a nobleman of an amiable character, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country: over and above this command, he was now appointed governor of Virginia, and colonel of a royal American regiment, consisting of four battalions, to be raised in that country, and disciplined by officers of experience, invited from foreign service. Mr. Abercrombie set sail for America in March; but the earl of Loudoun, who directed in chief the plan of operations, and was vested with power and authority little inferior to those of a viceroy, did not embark till the latter end of May.

27. All these previous measures being taken, his majesty, in the course of the same month, thought proper to publish a declaration of war against the French king,⁶ importing

⁶ When the French ambassador returned to London, he proposed that orders should be immediately despatched to the English governors in America, with express orders to desist from any new undertaking, and all acts of hostility; but with regard to the lands on the Ohio, to put without delay matters on the same footing in which they stood before the late war, that the respective claims of both nations might be amicably referred to the commissaries at Paris: the British court agreed to the cessation of

that since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the usurpations and encroachments made on the British territories in America had been notorious; that his Britannic majesty had, in divers serious representations to the court of Versailles, complained of these repeated acts of violence, and demanded satisfaction; but notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the French king, that every thing should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuation of the four neutral islands in the West-Indies should be effected, the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were

hostilities, and the discussion of the disputes by the ministers of the two crowns, on condition that all the possessions in America should be previously put in the situation prescribed by the treaty of Utrecht, confirmed by that of Aix-la-Chapelle: the French ministry, instead of complying with this condition, produced an evasive draught of a preliminary convention, and this was answered by a counter-proposal: at length, the ambassador of France demanded, as preliminary conditions, that Great Britain would renounce all claim to the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, and the lakes that discharge themselves into that river; cede to the French twenty leagues of country lying along the river of Fundy, which divides Acadia, or Nova Scotia; and all the land between the rivers Ohio and Ouabache. A memorial was afterwards presented on the same subject, including the affair of the neutral islands in the West-Indies; but this was amply refuted in another piece, in which the British ministry observed, that even at this very opening of the commission established at Paris, for terminating amicably the disputes in North-America, the French invaded Nova Scotia, erected three forts in the heart of that province, and would have destroyed the English settlement at Halifax had they not been prevented; that the like hostilities were committed on his Britannic majesty's subjects on the Ohio and Indian lakes, where the governors appointed by the French king, without any shadow of right, prohibited the English from trading, seized their traders by force, and sent them prisoners to France, invaded the territories of Virginia, attacked a fort that covered its frontier; and, to secure their usurpations, erected with an armed force a chain of forts on the lands which they had invaded; that his Britannic majesty had complained of these hostilities to the court of Versailles, but without effect, so that he found himself obliged to provide for the security of his subjects; and as the encroachments made by France were hostile, it could never be unlawful or irreconcilable with the assurance of his majesty's peaceable disposition, to repel an aggressor; and that the same motives of self-defence had forced him to seize the French ships and sailors, in order to deprive that court of the means of making an invasion, with which their ministers in all the courts of Europe had menaced England.

founded, had been evaded under the most frivolous pretences: that the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and officers acting under their authority, were still continued, until they broke out in open acts of hostility in the year 1754; when, in time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, without any previous notice given or application made, a body of French troops, commanded by an officer bearing the French king's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and took possession of an English fort on the river Ohio, in North-America: that great naval armaments were prepared in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for that country: that although the French ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate those differences, it appeared their real design was only to amuse and gain time for the passage of these supplies and reinforcements, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in America, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution: that in consequence of the just and necessary measures taken by the king of Great Britain for preventing the success of such a dangerous design, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from England, the fortifications of Dunkirk were enlarged, great bodies of troops marched down to the sea-coasts of France, and the British dominions threatened with an invasion: that though the king of England, in order to frustrate such intentions, had given orders for seizing at sea the ships of the French king and his subjects, yet he had hitherto contented himself with detaining those ships which had been taken, and preserving their cargoes entire, without proceeding to confiscation; but it being at last evident, from the hostile invasion of Minorca, that the court of Versailles was determined to reject all proposals of accommodation, and carry on the war with the utmost violence, his Britannic majesty could no longer, consistently with the honor of his crown and the welfare of his subjects, remain within those bounds, which from a desire of peace he had hitherto observed. A denunciation of war followed in the usual form, and was concluded with an assurance, that all the French subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, who should demean themselves dutifully to the government, might depend on its protection, and be safe in their persons and effects.

28. In the beginning of June the French king declared war

in his turn against his Britannic majesty, and his declaration was couched in terms of uncommon asperity: he artfully threw a shade over the beginning of hostilities in North-America, referring to a memorial which had been delivered to the several courts of Europe, containing a summary of those facts which related to the present war, and the negotiations by which it had been preceded: he insisted on the attack made by the king of England, in the year 1754, on the French possessions in North-America; and afterwards by the English navy on the navigation and commerce of the French subjects, in contempt of the law of nations, and direct violation of treaties: he complained that the French soldiers and sailors underwent the harshest treatment in the British isles, exceeding those bounds which are prescribed to the most rigorous rights of war, by the law of nature, and common humanity: he affirmed, that while the English ministry, under the appearance of sincerity, imposed on the French ambassador with false protestations, others diametrically opposite to these deceitful assurances of a speedy accommodation were actually carrying into execution in North-America: that while the court of London employed every caballing art, and squandered away the subsidies of England to instigate other powers against France, his most christian majesty did not even ask of these powers the succors which guarantees and defensive treaties authorised him to demand, but recommended to them such measures only as tended to their own peace and security: that while the English navy, by the most odious violences, and sometimes by the vilest artifices, made captures of French vessels, navigating in full security under the safeguard of public faith, his most christian majesty released an English frigate taken by a French squadron; and British vessels traded to the ports of France without molestation: that the striking contrast formed by these different methods of proceeding would convince all Europe, that one court was guided by motives of jealousy, ambition, and avarice; and that the conduct of the other was founded on principles of honor, justice, and moderation: that the vague imputations contained in the king of England's declaration had in reality no foundation; and the very manner in which they were set forth would prove their futility and falsehood: that the mention made of the works at Dunkirk, and the troops assembled on the coasts of the ocean, implied the most gross attempt to deceive mankind into a belief that these were the points which

determined the king of England to issue orders for seizing the French vessels ; whereas the works at Dunkirk were not begun till after two French ships of war had been taken by an English squadron, and depredations had been committed six months on the subjects of France before the first battalions began their march for the sea side : in a word, the most christian king, laying aside that politeness and decorum on which his people value themselves above all the nations on the face of the earth, very roundly taxes his brother monarch's administration with piracy, perfidy, inhumanity, and deceit. A charge, conveyed in such reproachful terms against one of the most respectable crowned heads in Europe, will appear the more extraordinary and injurious, if we consider that the accusers were well acquainted with the falsity of their own imputations, and at the same time conscious of having practised those very arts which they affected so much to decry : for after all, it must be allowed, that nothing could be justly urged against the English government, with respect to France, except the omission of a mere form, which other nations might interpret into an irregularity, but could not construe into perfidious dealing, as the French had previously violated the peace by their insolence and encroachments.

29. Whatever might have been the opinion of other nations, certain it is, the subjects of Great Britain heartily approved of the hostilities committed and intended against a people, whom they have always considered as their natural enemies, and the incendiaries of Europe : they cheerfully contributed to the expense of armaments,⁷ and seemed to approve of their destination, in hopes of being able to wipe off the disgraces they had sustained in the defeat of Braddock and the loss of Minorca. The last event made a deep impression on the minds of the community : an address was presented to the king by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, containing strong hints to the disadvantage of the ministry : they expressed their apprehension, that the loss of the important fortress of St. Philip and island of Minorca, possessions of the utmost consequence to the commerce and naval strength of Great Britain,

⁷ Immediately after the declaration of war, the French ships and cargoes which had been taken were tried, and condemned as legal prizes, exposed to public sale, and their produce lodged in the bank ; but in what manner this money, amounting to a large sum, was distributed or employed, we have not been able to discover.

without any attempt by timely and effectual succors to prevent or defeat an attack, after such early notice of the enemy's intentions, and when his majesty's navy was so evidently superior to theirs, would be an indelible reproach on the honor of the British nation: they expatiated on the imminent danger to which the British possessions in America were exposed, by the mismanagement and delays which had attended the defence of those invaluable colonies, the object of the present war, the principal source of the wealth and strength of these kingdoms: they lamented the want of a constitutional well-regulated militia, the most natural and certain defence against all invaders whatsoever: they signified their hope, that the authors of the late losses and disappointments would be detected and brought to condign punishment; that his majesty's known intentions of protecting and defending his subjects in their rights and possessions might be faithfully and vigorously carried into execution; and the large supplies, so necessarily demanded and so cheerfully granted, might be religiously applied to the defence of these kingdoms, their colonies, and their commerce, as well as to the annoyance of their inveterate and perfidious enemies; the only sure means of obtaining a lasting and honorable peace: in answer to this address, the king assured them that he would not fail to do justice on any persons who should have been wanting in their duty to him and their country; to enforce obedience and discipline in his fleets and armies; and to support the authority and respect due to his government. Remonstrances of the same kind were presented by different counties and corporations; and the populace clamored aloud for inquiry and justice.

30. The first victim offered to the enraged multitude was the unfortunate general Fowke, who had been deputy-governor of Gibraltar, and behaved with remarkable conduct and integrity in the exercise of that important office till that period when he fell under the displeasure of the government: he was now brought to trial before a board of general officers, and accused of having disobeyed the orders he had received from the secretary at war in three successive letters, touching the relief of Minorca.⁸ Mr. Fowke alleged in his

⁸ To lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his absence, to the commander in his majesty's garrison of Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 21, 1756.

Sir,—I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's

own defence that the orders were confused and contradictory, and implied a discretionary power; that the whole number

pleasure that you receive into your garrison lord Robert Bertie's regiment, to do duty there; and in case you should apprehend that the French intend to make any attempt on his majesty's island of Minorca, it is his majesty's pleasure that you make a detachment out of the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, to be commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison, to be put on board the fleet for the relief of Minorca, as the admiral shall think expedient, who is to carry them to the said island. I am, your humble servant, B.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or in his absence, to the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, March 26, 1756.

Sir,—I am commanded to acquaint you, that it is his majesty's pleasure, in case the island of Minorca should be in any likelihood of being attacked, that you make a detachment from the troops in your garrison equal to a battalion, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel and major, for the relief of that place, to be put on board the fleet, at the disposition of the admiral; such lieutenant-colonel and major to be the eldest in your garrison.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or, in his absence, to the commander in chief in his majesty's garrison at Gibraltar.

War-Office, April 1, 1756.

Sir,—It is his majesty's pleasure, that you receive into your garrison the women and children belonging to lord Robert Bertie's regiment.

To lieutenant-general Fowke, or the commander in chief at Gibraltar.

War-Office, May 12, 1756.

Sir,—I wrote to you by General Steward: if that order is not complied with, then you are now to make a detachment of 700 men out of your own regiment and Guise's; and also another detachment out of Pulteney's and Panmure's regiments, and send them on board the fleet for the relief of Mahon: but if that order has been complied with, then you are to make only one detachment of 700 men, to be commanded by another lieutenant-colonel and major, and to send it to Mahon; and you are also to detain all such empty vessels as shall come into your harbor, and to keep them in readiness for any farther transportation of troops: I have also his royal highness the duke of Cumberland's commands, to desire that you will keep your garrison as alert as possible during this critical time, and give such other assistance as may be in your power for the relief of Minorca; taking care, however, not to fatigue or endanger your own garrison.

of his garrison did not exceed 2600 men, after he had spared 275 to the ships commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe; that the ordinary duty of the garrison requiring 800 men, the whole number was not sufficient for three reliefs; that, if he had detached a battalion on board the fleet, he should not have had above two reliefs, at a time when he believed the place was in danger of being attacked, for good reasons, which he did not think himself at liberty to mention; that his orders being doubtful, he held a council of war, which was of opinion, that as undoubted intelligence was received of the French army's being landed at Minorca, to the number of between 13,000 and 16,000 men, and that a French squadron of sixteen ships was stationed off the harbor, the sending a detachment equal to a battalion from Gibraltar would be an ineffectual supply for the relief of the place, and a weakening of the garrison from which they must be sent: he observed, that supposing the orders to have been positive, and 700 men detached to Minorca, the number remaining at Gibraltar would not have exceeded 1556; a deduction of 700 more, according to the order of May 12, would have left a remainder of 856; that the men daily on duty in the garrison, including artificers and laborers in the king's works, amounted to 839; so that if he had complied with the orders as they arrived, he would not have had more than seventeen men over and above the number necessary for the daily work of the garrison: thus the important fortress of Gibraltar must, at this critical conjuncture, have been almost left naked and defenceless to the attempts of the enemy; and had those detachments been actually sent abroad, it afterwards appeared that they could not have been landed on the island of Minorca. The order transmitted to general Fowke to detain all empty vessels for a farther transportation of troops seems to have been superfluous; for it can hardly be supposed he could have occasion for them, unless to embark the whole garrison and abandon the place: it seems likewise to have been unnecessary to exhort the general to keep the garrison as alert as possible during that critical time; inasmuch as it would have been impossible for the men to have enjoyed the least repose or intermission of duty, had the orders been punctually and literally obeyed: what other assistance it might have been in the governor's power to give for the relief of Minorca, or in what manner he could avoid fatiguing his garrison, while there was an impossibility of relieving the guards, it is not

easy to comprehend : be that as it may, when the trial was finished, and the question put to acquit or suspend for one year, the court was equally divided ; and in such cases the casting vote being vested in the president, he threw it into the scale against the prisoner, whom his majesty thought fit to dismiss from his service.

31. The expectation of the public was now eagerly turned towards America, the chief, if not the sole scene of our military operations : on the twenty-fifth of June, Mr. Abercrombie arrived at Albany, the frontier of New York, and assumed the command of the forces there assembled, consisting of two regiments which had served under Braddock, two battalions raised in America, two regiments now transported from England, four independent companies which had been many years maintained in New York, the New Jersey regiment, four companies levied in North-Carolina, and a body of provincial forces raised by the government of New England : those to the southward, including Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, had not yet determined on any regular plan of operation, and were moreover hard pressed in defending their western frontiers from the French and Indians, who in skulking parties made sudden irruptions on their unguarded settlements, burning, plundering, and massacring with the most savage inhumanity : as for South-Carolina, the proportion of negro-slaves to the number of white inhabitants was so great in that colony, that the government could not, with any regard to the safety of the province, spare any reinforcement for the general enterprise. The plan of this undertaking had been settled in the preceding year in a council of war, held at New York : there it was resolved to attack the fort of Niagara, situated between the lakes Ontario and Erie, in order to cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana, and prevent the French from supporting their new fortresses on the Ohio : to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown-Point, so that the frontier of New York might be delivered from the danger of an invasion, and Great Britain become master of the lake Champlain, over which the forces might be transported in any future attempt : to besiege Fort Du Quesne on the Ohio ; and to detach a body of troops by the river Kennebec, to alarm the capital of Canada. This plan was too extensive for the number of troops which had been prepared ; the season was too far advanced before the regiments arrived from England ; the different colonies were divided in their

opinions; and Mr. Abercrombie postponed the execution of any important scheme till the arrival of lord Loudoun, who was daily expected; the reasons that delayed the reinforcement, and detained his lordship so long, we do not pretend to explain; though we may be allowed to observe, that many fair opportunities have been lost by the neglect and procrastination of an English ministry: certain it is, the unaccountable delay of this armament rendered it useless for a whole year; afforded time and leisure to the enemy to take their precautions against any subsequent attack, and in the mean time to proceed unmolested in distressing the British settlements: even before this period, they had attacked and reduced a small post in the country of the Five Nations, occupied by twenty-five Englishmen, who were cruelly butchered to a man, in the midst of those Indians whom Great Britain had long numbered among her allies.

32. Soon after this expedition, having received intelligence that a considerable convoy of provisions and stores for the garrison of Oswego would in a little time set out from Schenectady, and be conveyed in batteaux up the river Onondago, they formed an ambuscade among the woods and thickets on the north side of that river; but understanding the convoy had passed before they reached the place, they resolved to wait the return of the detachment: their design, however, was frustrated by the vigilance and valor of colonel Bradstreet, who expected such an attempt, and had taken his measures accordingly: on the third of July, while he stemmed the stream of the river, with his batteaux formed into three divisions, they were saluted with the Indian war-whoop, and a general discharge of musketry from the north shore: Bradstreet immediately ordered his men to land on the opposite bank, and with a few of the foremost took possession of a small island, where he was forthwith attacked by a party of the enemy, who had forded the river for that purpose; but these were soon repulsed: another body having passed a mile higher, he advanced to them at the head of 200 men, and fell on them, sword in hand, with such vigor, that many were killed on the spot, and the rest driven into the river with such precipitation, that a considerable number of them were drowned: having received information that a third body of them had passed at a ford still higher, he marched thither without hesitation, and pursued them to the other side, where they were intirely routed and dispersed: in this action, which lasted near three

hours, about seventy of the batteau men were killed or wounded, but the enemy lost double the number killed, and above seventy taken prisoners: in all probability the whole detachment of the French, amounting to 700 men, would have been cut off, had not a heavy rain interposed, and disabled colonel Bradstreet from following his blow; for that same night he was joined by captain Patten with his grenadiers, in his march from Oneida to Oswego, and next morning reinforced with 200 men, detached to his assistance from the garrison of Oswego; but by this time the rivulets were so swelled by the rain, that it was found impracticable to pursue the enemy through the woods and thickets: Patten and his grenadiers accompanied the detachment to Oswego, while Bradstreet pursued his voyage to Schenectady, from whence he repaired to Albany, and communicated to general Abercrombie the intelligence he had received from the prisoners, that a large body of the enemy were encamped on the eastern side of the lake Ontario, provided with artillery, and all other implements to besiege the fort of Oswego.

33. In consequence of this information, major-general Webb was ordered to hold himself in readiness to march with one regiment to the relief of that garrison; but before they could be provided with necessaries, the earl of Loudoun arrived at the head-quarters at Albany on the twenty-ninth of July: the army at this time is said to have consisted of regular troops to the number of 2600; about 7000 provincials, supposed to be in readiness to march from Fort William Henry, under the command of general Winslow; over and above a considerable number of batteau men at Albany and Schenectady: the garrison at Oswego amounted to 1400 soldiers, besides 300 workmen and sailors, either in the fort, or posted in small parties between the fort and the place called Burnet's field, to secure a passage through the country of the Six Nations, on whose friendship there was no longer any reliance. By the best accounts received of the enemy's force, they had about 3000 men at Crown-Point and Ticonderoga on the lake Champlain; but their chief strength was collected on the banks of the lake Ontario, where their purpose undoubtedly was to reduce the English fort at Oswego: the immediate object, therefore, of lord Loudoun's attention was the relief of this place; but his design was strenuously opposed by the province of New York and other northern governments, who were much more

intent on the reduction of Crown-Point, and the security of their own frontiers, which they apprehended was connected with this conquest: they insisted on Winslow's being joined by some regiments of regular troops before he should march against this fortress; and stipulated that a body of reserve should be detained at Albany, for the defence of that frontier, in case Winslow should fail in his enterprise, and be defeated: at length they agreed that the regiment which Mr. Abercrombie had destined for that purpose should be detached for the relief of Oswego; and on the twelfth of August major-general Webb began his march with it from Albany; but on his arrival at the carrying-place, between the Mohawk river and Wood's creek, he received the disagreeable news that Oswego was taken, and the garrison made prisoners of war. Mr. Webb, apprehending himself in danger of being attacked by the besieging army, began immediately to render the creek impassable even to canoes, by felling trees, and throwing them into the stream; while the enemy, ignorant of his numbers, and apprehensive of a like visitation from him, took the very same method of preventing his approach: in consequence of this apprehension, he was permitted to retire unmolested.

34. The loss of the two small forts, called Ontario and Oswego, was a considerable national misfortune: they were erected on the south side of the great lake Ontario, standing on the opposite sides, at the mouth of the Onondago river, that discharges itself into the lake; and constituted a post of great importance, where vessels had been built to cruise on the lake, which is a kind of inland sea, and interrupt the commerce as well as the motions and designs of the enemy: the garrison, as we have already observed, consisted of 1400 men, chiefly militia and new-raised recruits, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Mercer, an officer of courage and experience: but the situation of the forts was very ill chosen; the materials mostly timber or logs of wood; the defences wretchedly contrived and unfinished; and, in a word, the place altogether untenable against any regular approach. Such were the forts which the enemy wisely resolved to reduce: being under no apprehension for Crown-Point, they assembled a body of troops, consisting of 1300 regulars, 1700 Canadians, and a considerable number of Indian auxiliaries, under the command of the marquis de Montcalm, a vigilant and enterprising officer, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted by the marquis de

Vaudreuil, governor and lieutenant-general of New France. The first step taken by Montcalm was to block up Oswego by water with two large armed vessels, and post a strong body of Canadians on the road between Albany and the forts, to cut off all communication of succor and intelligence: in the mean time, he embarked his artillery and stores on the lake, and landed them in the bay of Nixouri, the place of general rendezvous: at another creek, within half a league of Oswego, he erected a battery for the protection of his vessels; and on the twelfth of August, at midnight, after his dispositions had been made, he opened the trenches before Fort Ontario. The garrison, having fired away all their shells and ammunition, spiked up the cannon; and deserting the fort, retired next day across the river into Oswego, which was even more exposed than the other, especially when the enemy had taken possession of Ontario, from whence they immediately began to fire without intermission: colonel Mercer being, on the thirteenth, killed by a cannon ball, the fort destitute of all cover, the officers divided in opinion, and the garrison in confusion, they next day demanded a capitulation, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition that they should be exempted from plunder, conducted to Montreal, and treated with humanity: these conditions, however, the marquis did not punctually observe: the British officers and soldiers were insulted by the savage Indians, who robbed them of their clothes and baggage, massacred several men as they stood defenceless on the parade, assassinated lieutenant de la Court, as he lay wounded in his tent, under the protection of a French officer, and barbarously scalped all the sick people in the hospital: finally, Montcalm, in direct violation of the articles, as well as in contempt of common humanity, delivered up above twenty men of the garrison to the Indians, in lieu of the same number they had lost during the siege; and, in all probability, these miserable captives were put to death by those barbarians with the most excruciating tortures, according to the execrable custom of the country. Those who countenance the perpetration of cruelties, at which human nature shudders with horror, ought to be branded as infamous to all posterity: such, however, were the trophies that, in the course of the American war, distinguished the operations of a people who pique themselves on politeness and the virtues of humanity: the prisoners taken at Oswego, after having been thus barbarously treated, were conveyed in batteaux to Montreal, where they

had no reason to complain of their reception ; and before the end of the year they were exchanged. The victors immediately demolished the two forts, if they deserved that denomination, in which they found 121 pieces of artillery, fourteen mortars, with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike stores, and provision, besides two sloops and 200 batteaux, which likewise fell into their hands : such an important magazine, deposited in a place altogether indefensible, and without the reach of immediate succor, was a flagrant proof of egregious folly, temerity, and misconduct.

35. The earl of Loudoun, finding the season too far advanced to admit of any enterprise against the enemy, exerted all his endeavors in making preparations for an early campaign in the spring, securing the frontiers of the English colonies, in forming a uniform plan of action, and promoting a spirit of harmony among the different governments, which had been long divided by jarring interests and other sources of dissension : meanwhile, the forts Edward and William Henry were put in a proper posture of defence, and secured with numerous garrisons ; and the forces put into winter-quarters at Albany, where comfortable barracks were built for that purpose. Fort Granvilla, on the confines of Pennsylvania, an inconsiderable blockhouse, was surprised by a party of French and Indians, who made the garrison prisoners, consisting of two and twenty soldiers, with a few women and children : these they loaded with flour and provision, and drove them into captivity ; but the fort they reduced to ashes : many shocking murders were perpetrated on defenceless people, without distinction of age or sex, in different parts of the frontiers ; but these outrages were in some measure balanced by the advantages resulting from a treaty of peace, which the governor of Pennsylvania concluded with the Delaware Indians, a powerful tribe that dwell on the river Susquehanna, forming, as it were, a line along the southern skirts of the province : at the same time, the governor of Virginia secured the friendship and alliance of the Cherokees and Catawbias, two powerful nations adjoining to that colony, who were able to bring 3000 fighting men into the field. All these circumstances considered, Great Britain had reason to expect that the ensuing campaign would be vigorously prosecuted in America ; especially as a fresh reinforcement of troops, with a great supply of warlike stores, were sent to that country in fourteen trans-

ports, under convoy of two ships of war, which sailed from Cork about the beginning of November.

36. No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America: in the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc en Ciel*, a French ship of fifty guns, having on board near 600 men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison: he likewise made prize of another French ship, with seventy soldiers, 200 barrels of powder, two large brass mortars, and other stores of the like destination. On the twenty-seventh of July, commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute: a great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West-India islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as those seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruisers proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

37. Scenes of higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East-Indies: the cessation of hostilities between the English and French companies on the peninsula of Indus, though it encouraged Mr. Clive to visit his native country, was not of long duration; for in a few months both sides recommenced their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English force, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; and prosecuted his success with such vigor, as in all probability would in a little time have terminated the war according to his own wish; when the progress of his arms was interrupted and suspended by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained; for extraordinary pains have been taken to throw a veil over some transactions, from whence this calamity was immediately or remotely derived.

38. The old suba or viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia, dying in the month of April, 1756, was succeeded by his adopted son, Sur Raja al Dowlat, a young man of violent passions, without principle, fortitude, or good faith, who began his administration with acts of perfidy and violence: in all probability, his design against the English settlements

was suggested by his rapacious disposition, on a belief that they abounded with treasure; as the pretences which he used for commencing hostilities were altogether inconsistent, false, and frivolous: in the month of May, he caused the English factory at Cassimbuzzar to be invested; and inviting Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, to a conference, under the sanction of a safe conduct, detained him as prisoner; then, by means of fraud and force intermingled, made himself master of the factory: this exploit being achieved, he made no secret of his design to deprive the English of all their settlements: with this view he marched to Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army, and invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence.

39. The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort, and with some principal persons residing in the settlement, took refuge on board a ship in the river, carrying along with them their most valuable effects and the books of the company: thus the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell, the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution against several attacks, until he was overpowered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle: then he was obliged to submit; and the suba, or viceroy, promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison: nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of 146 persons of both sexes, into a place called the Black-hole prison, a cube of about eighteen feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air; and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation. The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night under such a climate as that of Bengal, especially when he reflects that many of them were wounded, and all of them fatigued with hard duty: transported with rage to find themselves thus barbarously cooped up in a place where they must be exposed to suffocation, those hapless victims endeavored to force open the door, that they might rush on the swords of the barbarians by whom they were surrounded; but all their efforts were ineffectual; the door was made to open inwards; and being once shut on them, the crowd

pressed on it so strongly as to render all their endeavors abortive: then they were overwhelmed with distraction and despair. Mr. Holwell, who had placed himself at one of the windows, accosted a jemmutdaar, or sergeant of the Indian guard; and having endeavored to excite his compassion by drawing a pathetic picture of their sufferings, promised to gratify him with 1000 rupees in the morning, if he could find means to remove one half of them into a separate apartment: the soldier, allured by the promise of such a reward, assured him he would do his endeavor for their relief, and retired for that purpose; but in a few minutes returned, and told him that the suba, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose: by this time a profuse sweat had broken out on every individual; and this was attended with an insatiable thirst, which became the more intolerable as the body was drained of its moisture: in vain those miserable objects stripped themselves of their clothes, squatted down on their hams, and fanned the air with their hats, to produce a refreshing undulation: many were unable to rise again from this posture, but falling down were trod to death, or suffocated: the dreadful symptom of thirst was now accompanied with a difficulty of respiration, and every individual gasped for breath: their despair became outrageous; again they attempted to force the door, and provoke the guard to fire on them by execration and abuse: the cry of 'Water! water!' issued from every mouth: even the jemmutdaar was moved to compassion at their distress: he ordered his soldiers to bring some skins of water, which served only to enrage the appetite, and increase the general agitation: there was no other way of conveying it through the windows but by hats; and this was rendered ineffectual by the eagerness and transports of the wretched prisoners, who at sight of it struggled and raved even in fits of delirium: in consequence of these contests, very little reached those who stood nearest the windows; while the rest, at the farther end of the prison, were totally excluded from all relief, and continued calling on their friends for assistance, and conjuring them by all the tender ties of pity and affection: to those who were indulged it proved pernicious; for, instead of allaying their thirst, it enraged their impatience for more: the confusion became general and horrid; all was clamor and contest: those who were at a distance endeavored to force their passage to the window,

and the weak were pressed down to the ground, never to rise again: the inhuman ruffians without derived entertainment from their misery: they supplied the prisoners with more water, and held up lights close to the bars that they might enjoy the inhuman pleasure of seeing them fight for the baneful indulgence. Mr. Holwell, seeing all his particular friends lying dead around him and trampled on by the living, finding himself wedged up so close as to be deprived of all motion, begged, as the last instance of their regard, that they would remove the pressure, and allow him to retire from the window, that he might die in quiet: even in those dreadful circumstances, which might be supposed to have levelled all distinction, the poor delirious wretches manifested a respect for his rank and character: they forthwith gave way, and he forced his passage into the centre of the place, which was not crowded so much, because by this time about one-third of the number had perished, and lay in little compass on the floor, while the rest still crowded to both windows: he retired to a platform at the farther end of the room, and laying down on some of his dead friends, recommended his soul to Heaven: here his thirst grew insupportable; his difficulty in breathing increased; and he was seized with a strong palpitation: these violent symptoms, which he could not bear, urged him to make another effort: he forced his way back to the window, and cried aloud, 'Water, for God's sake!' He had been supposed already dead by his wretched companions; but finding him still alive, they exhibited another extraordinary proof of tenderness and regard to his person: 'Give him water,' they cried; nor would any of them attempt to touch it until he had drunk: he now breathed more freely, and the palpitation ceased; but finding himself still more thirsty after drinking, he abstained from water, and moistened his mouth from time to time by sucking the perspiration from his shirt sleeve.⁹ The miserable prisoners, perceiving the water rather aggravated than relieved their distress, grew clamorous for air, and repeated their insults to the guard, loading the suba and his governor with the most virulent reproach: from railing, they had recourse to prayer, beseeching Heaven to

⁹ In his despair of obtaining water, this unhappy gentleman had attempted to drink his own urine, but found it intolerably bitter; whereas the moisture that flowed from the pores of his body was soft, pleasant, and refreshing.

put an end to their misery : they now began to drop on all hands ; but then a steam arose from the living and the dead, as pungent and volatile as spirits of hartshorn ; so that all who could not approach the windows were suffocated. Mr. Holwell, being weary of life, retired once more to the platform, and stretched himself by the Rev. Mr. Jervis Bellamy, who, together with his son, a lieutenant, lay dead in each other's embrace : in this situation he was soon deprived of sense, and lay to all appearance dead till day broke ; when his body was discovered, and removed by his surviving friends to one of the windows, where the fresh air revived him, and he was restored to his sight and senses. The suba, at last, being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, inquired if the chief was alive ; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than twenty-three survived of 146 who had entered alive.

40. Nor was the late deliverance even of these few owing to any sentiment of compassion in the viceroy : he had received intimation, that there was a considerable treasure secreted in the fort, and that Mr. Holwell knew the place where it was deposited : that gentleman, who, with his surviving companions, had been seized with a putrid fever immediately on their release, was dragged in that condition before the inhuman suba, who questioned him about the treasure, which existed no where but in his own imagination ; and would give no credit to his protestations, when he solemnly declared he knew of no such deposit : Mr. Holwell and three of his friends were loaded with fetters, and conveyed three miles from the Indian camp, where they lay all night exposed to a severe rain : next morning they were brought back to town, still manacled, under the scorching beams of a sun intensely hot ; and must infallibly have expired, had not nature expelled the fever in large painful boils, that covered almost the whole body : in this piteous condition they were embarked in an open boat for Muxadavad, the capital of Bengal, and underwent such cruel treatment and misery in their passage, as would shock the humane reader should he peruse the particulars : at Muxadavad they were led through the city in chains, as a spectacle to the inhabitants, lodged in an open stable, and treated for some days as the worst of criminals : at length, the suba's grandmother interposed her mediation in their behalf ; and as that prince was by this time convinced that

there was no treasure concealed at Calcutta, he ordered them to be set at liberty: when some of his sycophants opposed the indulgence, representing that Mr. Holwell had still enough left to pay a considerable ransom, he replied, with some marks of compunction and generosity, 'If he has any thing left, let him keep it: his sufferings have been great: he shall have his liberty.' Mr. Holwell and his friends were no sooner unfettered, than they took water for the Dutch tanksall or mint, in the neighborhood of that city, where they were received with great tenderness and humanity. The reader we hope, will excuse us for having thus particularised a transaction so interesting and extraordinary in all its circumstances. The suba, having destroyed Calcutta and dispersed the inhabitants, extorted large sums from the French and Dutch factories, that he might display a spirit of impartiality against all the Europeans even in his oppression, and returned to his city of Muxadavad in triumph: by the reduction of Calcutta, the English East-India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force, and the good fortune of a Clive, whose enterprises were always crowned with success.

41. As the English East-India company had, for a whole century, been at a considerable expense in maintaining a marine force at Bombay, to protect their ships from the piracies of the Angrias, who had rendered themselves independent princes, and fortified Geriah in that neighborhood; many unsuccessful attempts had been made to destroy their naval power, and reduce the fortress, under which they always took shelter: in the year 1754, the fleet of Tullagee Angria, the reigning prince, attacked three Dutch ships of force, which they either took or destroyed: elated with this success, he boasted that he should in a little time sweep the seas of the Europeans, and began to build some large ships, to reinforce his grabs and gallivats, which were the vessels on which he had formerly depended. Next year, his neighbors, the Mahrattas, having signified to the presidency at Bombay that they were disposed to join in the necessary service of humbling this common enemy so formidable to the whole Malabar coast, commodore James was detached with some ships of force to attack Angria, in conjunction with those allies: they accordingly joined him with seven grabs and sixty gallivats: they proceeded to the harbor of

Severndroog, where Angria's fleet lay at anchor; but they no sooner received intelligence of his approach, than they slipped their cables, and stood out to sea: he chased them with all the canvass he could carry; but their vessels being lighter than his, they escaped; and he returned to Severndroog, which is a fortress situated on an island within musket-shot of the main land, strongly but irregularly fortified, and mounted with fifty-four pieces of cannon: there were three other small forts on the continent, the largest of which was called Goa. On the second of April, the commodore began to batter and bombard the island, fort, and Fort Goa, at the same time: that of Severndroog was set on fire; one of the magazines blew up; a general conflagration ensued; the garrison were overwhelmed with fire and confusion: the English seamen landed under cover of the fire from the ships, and took the place by storm with very little loss: the other forts were immediately surrendered, and all of these, by treaty, delivered to the Mahrattas. On the eighth of April the commodore anchored off Bancote, now called Fort Victoria, one of the most northern parts of Angria's dominion, which surrendered without opposition, and still remains in the hands of the English East-India company, by the consent of the Mahrattas: the harbor is good, and here is a great trade for salt and other commodities sent hither from Bombay.

42. It was in November following, that the squadron under admiral Watson arrived at Bombay, where it was resolved to give Angria the finishing stroke, still in conjunction with the Mahrattas: meanwhile commodore James was sent to reconnoitre Geriah, the capital of his dominions, and to sound the depth of the harbor; a service which he successfully performed. The admiral, being joined by a division of ships fitted out at the company's expense, having on board a body of troops commanded by colonel Clive, sailed on the seventh of February, and found in the neighborhood of Geriah the Mahratta fleet, consisting of four grabs, and forty smaller vessels, called gallivats, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horse and foot amounting to 7000 or 8000 men; the whole commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah: Angria himself had quitted the place, but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender by a

message from the admiral, replied that he would defend the place to the last extremity: in consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet in two divisions sailed on the twelfth of February into the harbor, and sustained a warm fire from the enemy's batteries as they passed, as well as from the grabs posted in the harbor for that purpose; this, however, was soon silenced after the ships were brought to their stations, so as to return the salutation. Between the hours of four and five in the afternoon, a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire; and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed; between six and seven the fort was set on fire by another shell; and soon after the firing ceased on both sides. The admiral, suspecting that the governor of the place would surrender it to the Mahrattas rather than to the English, disembarked all the troops under Mr. Clive, that he might be at hand, in case of emergency, to take possession: in the mean time, the fort was bombarded; the line of battle ships were warped near enough to batter in breach; and then the admiral sent an officer, with a flag of truce to the governor, requiring him to surrender: his proposal being again rejected, the English ships renewed their fire next day with redoubled vigor: about one o'clock the magazine of the fort blew up, and at four the garrison hung out a white flag for capitulation: the parley that ensued proving ineffectual, the engagement began again, and continued till fifteen minutes after five, when the white flag was again displayed; and now the governor submitted to the terms which were imposed: Angria's flag was immediately hauled down; and two English captains, taking possession of the fort with a detachment, forthwith hoisted the British ensign: to these captains, whose names were Buchanan and Forbes, the Mahrattas offered a bribe of 50,000 rupees, if they would allow them to pass their guards, that they might take possession of the fort for themselves; but this offer was rejected with disdain, and immediately disclosed to colonel Clive, who took effectual measures to frustrate their design. In this place, which was reduced with very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above 200 cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition, with money and effects to the value of £130,000: the fleet which was destroyed consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two on the stocks, and a good number of gallivats: among the prisoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, towards whom

he demeaned himself with great humanity : 300 European soldiers and as many sepoy's were left to guard the fort ; and four of the company's armed vessels remained in the harbor for the defence of the place, which was extremely well situated for commerce.¹⁰

43. The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs on the Ganges, recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal : in October they set sail again for the bottom of the bay ; and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal : having crossed the Braces, they proceeded up the river Ganges as far as Falta, where they found governor Drake, and the other persons who had escaped on board of the ships when Calcutta was invested : colonel Clive was disembarked with his forces to attack the fort of Busbudgia by land, while the admiral battered it by sea ; but the place being ill provided with cannon, did not hold out above one hour after the firing began. This conquest being achieved at a very easy purchase, two of the great ships anchored between Tanny fort and a battery on the other side of the river, which were abandoned before one shot was discharged against either : thus the passage was laid open to Calcutta, the reduction of which we shall record among the transactions of the ensuing year.

¹⁰ When the admiral entered their apartment, the whole family, shedding floods of tears, fell with their faces to the ground ; from which being raised, the mother of Angria told him, in a piteous tone, the people had no king, she no son, her daughter no husband, their children no father the admiral replying, they must look on him as their father and their friend, the youngest boy, about six years of age, seized him by the hand, and sobbing exclaimed, ' then you shall be my father.' Mr. Watson was so affected with this pathetic address, that the tears trickled down his cheeks, while he assured them they might depend on his protection and friendship.

CHAP. XXVI.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1756.

1. Motives of the war in Germany. Conspiracy in Sweden—2. Measures taken by the king of Prussia and elector of Hanover—3. Endeavors of the court of Vienna to frustrate them—4. His Prussian majesty demands an explanation from the empress-queen—5. Her answer—6. The Prussian army enters Saxony, and publishes a manifesto. Prince Ferdinand takes Leipsic.—7. King of Prussia takes possession of Dresden, and blocks up the king of Poland at Pirna—8. Prussian army penetrates into Bohemia, and fights the battle of Lowoschutz—9. Saxon army surrenders—10. King of Poland's memorial to the States-General—11. Imperial decrees published against the king of Prussia—12. Declarations of different powers—13. His Prussian majesty's answer to the Saxon memorial,—14. and justification of his conduct—15. Remarks on both those pieces—16. Disputes between the parliament of Paris and the clergy—17. Dearth of corn in England—18. Hanoverian auxiliaries sent back—19. Session opened—20. Debates on the address—21. Bill passed for prohibiting the exportation of corn. Message to the house concerning admiral Byng—22. Supplies granted—23. Reflections on the continental war—24. Messages from the king to the parliament—25. Measures taken to remove the scarcity of corn—26. Militia-bill—27. Petitions for and against it—28. Altered by the lords—29. Bill for quartering the foreign troops, and for regulating the marines while on shore—30. Bill for the more speedy recruiting the land forces and marines. Act relating to pawnbrokers and gaming-houses—31. Laws relating to the wages of weavers, and to the improvement of the British fishery—32. Act for importing American iron duty free—33. Regulations with respect to the importation of silk—34. Smugglers encouraged to enter into his majesty's service—35. Inquiry into the scarcity of corn—36. Investigation of the loss of Minorca—37. Examination of the American contract—38. Inquiry into the conduct of admiral Knowles, as governor of Jamaica—39. Resolutions concerning Milford-haven—40. Session closed—41. Trial of admiral Byng—42. Recommended to mercy—43. Message from the king to the parliament respecting the sentence—44. Bill to release the members of the court-martial from their oath of secrecy—45. Execution of admiral Byng—46. Paper delivered by him to the marshal of the admiralty—47. Remarks on his fate.

1. HAVING thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event, in which Great

Britain was concerned either at home or in her settlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year 1756, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavor to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then seemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his Britannic majesty to provide for the safety of his electoral dominions, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he foresaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue: he, at that time, stood on indifferent terms with the king of Prussia, who was considered as a partisan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be sufficient to support him against two such powerful antagonists: in this emergency, he had recourse to the empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large subsidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of Hanover: his Prussian majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not suffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries; a declaration, which probably flowed from a jealousy and aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburg, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risk of being restricted or controlled: he knew he should give umbrage to the French king, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia; but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connexions with France for an alliance with Great Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed, such an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration: had his Britannic majesty made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate at the head of 140,000 men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the czarina, he did not know how soon the king of Prussia might be reconciled to his most christian majesty's design of invasion: as for the empress-queen, her attention was engrossed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands so full, that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and firmest allies: in these circumstances the king of England sought and

obtained the alliance of Prussia, which, to the best of our comprehension, entailed on Great Britain the enormous burden of extravagant subsidies, together with the intolerable expense of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage, either positive or negative, to England or Hanover: on the contrary, this connexion threw the empress-queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she bought at the expense of the barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labor by the blood and treasure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes, sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, Hanover has been over-run and subdued by the enemy, and the king of Prussia put to the ban of the empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the resolution which his Prussian majesty took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria: the apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall presently explain: in the mean time, the defensive treaty between the empress-queen and France was no sooner ratified, than the czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburg, to negotiate the conditions of this accession, which the empress of Russia accordingly embraced;—a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Versailles, that the marquis de l'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, soliciting their concurrence; but their catholic and Sardinian majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality: at the same time, intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavors succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their sovereign: at present, a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increasing the power of the crown; and several persons of rank being convicted on trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the king or queen were at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the diet, that he threatened to resign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions: this design was extremely disagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the diet, by whom they

conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

2. The king of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a secret article in the late treaty between France and the house of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the empire, by a forced election of a king of the Romans: the cry of religion was no impolitic measure; but it no longer produced the same effect as in times past: religion was made a pretence on both sides; for the partisans of the empress-queen insinuated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia: it was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannic majesty ordered his electoral minister at the diet to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratisbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty he had concluded with the king of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion: he observed, that as France had made open dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and disturbing the peace of the empire; that as he had been denied by the empress-queen the succors stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused assistance by certain states of the empire, who even seemed disposed to favor such a diversion; he had, in order to provide for the security of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the king of Prussia; that, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an essential service to the empress-queen, and performed the part which the head of the empire in dignity and duty ought to have acted; that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the empress-queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which for upwards of two centuries had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavored, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body.

3. The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in

Bohemia and Moravia, yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge: his most christian majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and, this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprise the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the assistance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked: finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression on the king of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose: what his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confidant or ally: it must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the sword and commencing hostilities: the empress-queen had some reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbor: she remembered his irruption into Bohemia in the year 1744, at a time when she thought that country and all her other dominions secure from his invasion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened: she caballed against him in different courts of Europe; she concluded a treaty with the czarina, which, though seemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests on this monarch; she endeavored to engage the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a sudden visit from his neighbor of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince, who had once before, without the least provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possession of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay 1,000,000 of crowns to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a step as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburg, though it was ex-

pressly defensive ; the *casus fœderis* being his Prussian majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties : it appears, however, that count de Bruhl, prime minister and favorite of the king of Poland, had, in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain scandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the king of Prussia with the empress of Russia, between whom a misunderstanding had long subsisted.

4. His Prussian majesty, perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their secret negociations with different powers of Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war on the frontiers of Silesia were designed against him, and what were the intentions of her imperial majesty : to this demand the empress replied, that in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies ; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever : the king, far from being satisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, that after the king had dissembled, as long as he thought consistent with his safety and honor, the bad designs imputed to the empress would not suffer him longer to disguise his sentiments : that he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburg ; that he knew they had engaged to attack him suddenly with an army of 200,000 men ; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Russian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a sufficient quantity of corn for their support : that he constituted the empress arbiter of peace or war ; if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him either this year or the next ; but he should look on an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war ; and he called Heaven to witness, that the empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the dismal consequences that would attend the commission of hostilities.

5. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, seems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her imperial majesty, whose answer he soon received to this effect : that his majesty the king of Prussia had already

been employed for some time in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her majesty touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions, on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian majesty had been made: that though her majesty might have declined explaining herself on those subjects, which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare with her own mouth to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of public affairs rendered the measures she was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety and that of her allies, but that in other respects they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: that her imperial majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger: that her declaration was so clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practise, the decorums which sovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility the contents of the memorial now presented by M. de Klingraafe; so extraordinary both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herself under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself were she to answer the whole of its contents; nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian majesty, of an offensive alliance against him subsisting between herself and the empress of Russia, together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely false and forged, for no such treaty did exist or ever had existed: she concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her imperial majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed sufficiently categorical, or at least not suitable to the purposes of the king of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the empress-queen would sign a positive assurance that she would not attack his Prussian majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored

to their former footing: this demand was evaded, on pretence that such an assurance could not be more binding than the solemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty, which the empress-queen had no intention to violate: but before an answer could be delivered, the king had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. The court of Vienna, believing that the king of Prussia was bent on employing his arms somewhere, being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed, unwilling to lay themselves under farther restrictions, apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own security, resolved to run the risk of his resentment, not without hopes of being indemnified, in the course of the war, for that part of Silesia which the queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

6. Both sides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the king of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm fell first on Saxony: he resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions: besides, he had reason to believe the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was connected with the czarina and the empress-queen; therefore he thought it would be impolitic to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against his majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the disagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony; but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the necessity of providing for the defence and security of his subjects: he reminded the public of the tenderness with which he had treated the elector of Saxony during the campaign of the year 1744, and of the bad consequences resulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of

Prussia: he declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to such enterprises had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated; but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish majesty or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies; and he had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline; that he desired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had seized only as a sacred deposit. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions, and this the king of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be settled by commissaries appointed for that purpose: but these were formalities which did not at all suit with his Prussian majesty's disposition or design: even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to 15,000, under the command of prince Ferdinand, brother to the duke of Brunswick, took possession of Leipsic on the twentieth of September: here he published a declaration, signifying that it was his Prussian majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that electorate as if they were his own subjects, and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline: as the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all sorts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution: that same evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the king of Prussia; then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his soldiers.

7. The king of Poland, apprehensive of such a visitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and assemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was intrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery: thither the king of Poland repaired, with his two sons Xaverius and Charles; but the queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden: of his capital, his Prussian majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on the eighth of September, when he was visited by lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by count

Salmour, a Saxon minister, who in his master's name proposed a neutrality. The king of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, desired the king of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters: his Polish majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own safety more on the valor and attachment of his troops thus assembled, than on the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable: in the mean time, the king of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league distant from Pirna; and posted his army in such a manner, as to be able to intercept all convoys of provision designed for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the vanguard actually seized the passes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leutmeritz, in that kingdom; while prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition: at the same time, the king covered his own dominions, by assembling two considerable bodies in Upper and Lower Silesia, which occupied the passes that communicated with the circles of Buntzlau and Konigsgratz. Hostilities were commenced on the thirteenth of September, by a detachment of Prussian hussars, who attacked an Austrian escort to a convoy of provisions, designed for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a considerable number of loaded waggons: the magazines at Dresden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the king of Prussia first arrived at Dresden, he lodged at the house of the countess Moczinska, and gave orders that the queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due veneration and respect:¹¹ even while the Saxon

¹¹ His majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the assertions of his Polish majesty's queen and the court of Vienna, who affirmed that sentinels were posted within the palace where the queen and royal family resided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the

camp was blocked up on every side, he sometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested, for the use of his Polish majesty.

8. During these transactions, the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of field-marshal Keith,¹² who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Aussig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the imperial army, amounting to 50,000 men, commanded by count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. His Prussian majesty, having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of marshal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy: on the twenty-ninth of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he saw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz,

papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited: the keys of this cabinet were seized, and all the writings demanded: the whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the king of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general. When the queen entreated this prince to remove the sentinels posted within the palace and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the king ordered the guards to be doubled, and sent an officer to demand of her majesty the keys of the secret cabinet: the queen obtained the officer's consent that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her majesty, placing herself before the door, said she trusted so much to the promise of the king of Prussia, that she could not believe he had given such orders: the officer declaring that his orders were positive, and that he durst not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her; the officer returning to acquaint the king with what had passed, her majesty conjured the ministers of Prussia and England to remind his majesty of his promise; but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person: the queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew; the doors were forced, the chest broken open, and all the papers seized.

¹² Brother to the earl-marshal of Scotland; a gentleman who had signalised himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his warlike genius than amiable in his disposition.

and its left towards the Egra: having occupied with six battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, consisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the second line being formed of some battalions; and the third composed of the whole cavalry: the Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwise, in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about 2000 Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse; but received such a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon: there being formed and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars, and other bodies of infantry, from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they possessed; but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the king ordered them to reascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced: in the mean time, a furious cannonading was maintained on both sides with considerable effect: at length, the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and in all likelihood would have miscarried, had not field-marshal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his sword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand that all their powder and shot were exhausted; he turned immediately to them with a cheerful countenance, said he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well assured the enemy could not withstand them at push of bayonet; so saying, he advanced at their head, and, driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, set the suburbs on fire: the infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other side of the Egra: some prisoners, colors, and pieces of cannon were taken on both sides; and the loss of each might amount to 2500 killed and wounded; so that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals

claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares that the king of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that same day established his head-quarters at Lowoschutz; whereas the Austrian Gazette affirms, that marshal count Brown obliged his Prussian majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. If the battle was at all decisive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian majesty, who in all probability had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

9. The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensably necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the king of Prussia: the former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected: on the fourteenth of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy: they continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, they made little progress: next day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience: in this deplorable condition they remained, when the king of Poland, from the fortress of Konigstein, sent a letter to his general, field-marshal count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary power to surrender, or take such other measures, as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers.¹³ By this time count Brown had retired to

¹³ The letter was to the following effect:—

‘Field-marshal count Rutowski,—It is not without extreme sorrow I understand the deplorable situation which a chain of

Budin, so that there was no choice left: a capitulation was demanded; but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to surrender at discretion; and the soldiers were afterwards by compulsion incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The king of Poland, being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own safety, and retired with all expedition to Poland: his Prussian majesty cantoned his forces in the neighborhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Dresden: his other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the count de Ichwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

10. The king of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the assistance and mediation of neutral powers: his minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States-General, complaining that the invasion of Saxony was one of those attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the assistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independence: he observed, that from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality: he represented that a free and neutral state had

misfortunes has reserved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army; but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and console ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it seems, as you give me to understand by major-general the baron de Dyhern, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances become more necessitous: I cannot hear them mentioned: I am a free monarch; such I will live; such I will die; and I will both live and die with honor: the fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion: let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine: may your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity! whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them; and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely, not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Marshal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein, October 14, 1756.

‘AUGUSTUS, rex.’

‘To the field-marshal the count Rutowski.’

been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who disguised himself under the mask of friendship, without alleging the least complaint or any pretension whatsoever; but founding himself solely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, dismantling some and fortifying others: that he had disarmed the burghers, carried off the magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage, seized the coffers and confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arsenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburg; abolished the privy-council; and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will: he gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment which was reserved for a queen, whose virtues ought to have commanded respect even from her enemies; that from the hands of that august princess the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws human and divine; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the king of Prussia, that not only her person and the place of her residence should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction: he observed, that a prince who declared himself protector of the protestant religion had begun the war by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment and the preservation of its most invaluable rights; that he had broken through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanic body, under color of a defence which the empire stood in no need of except against himself; that the king of Prussia, while he insists on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the sacrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to allege even any pretext to color the usurpation of his territories and revenues. Though this was certainly the case in his Prussian majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied in a subsequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the king

of Poland as an accomplice in, if not an accessory to, the treaty of Petersburg ; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories when they should be conquered : this treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Dresden.

11. While the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three imperial decrees were published against his Prussian majesty ; the first summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony ; the second commanding all the vassals of the empire employed by the king of Prussia to quit that service immediately ; and the third forbidding the members of the empire to suffer any levies of soldiers for the Prussian service to be raised within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the king of England, to excite in the empire a religious war which might be favorable to their particular views, his most christian majesty, in consequence of his engagement with the empress-queen and many other princes of the empire, being resolved to succor them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith send such a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanic body : on the other hand, the Prussian minister assured the diet, that his master would very soon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing on him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole empire.

12. About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his mistress, importing that her imperial majesty, having seen a memorial presented at the court of Vienna by the king of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the empress-queen ; in which case, she, the czarina, was inevitably obliged to succor her ally with all her forces ; for which end she had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith assembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march ; that moreover the Russian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately

a sufficient number of galleys for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The ministers of the empress-queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials to the States-General and his Britannic majesty, demanding the succors which these two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; but their high-mightinesses kept warily aloof by dint of evasion, and the king of Great Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France: the dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no sooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the king and queen of Poland, than she was seized with violent fits which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger: the Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles, and directions were despatched to the French minister at Berlin to retire from that court without taking leave: finally, the emperor of Germany concluded a new convention with the French king, regulating the succors to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the assistance of the Germanic body, as guarantee of the pragmatic sanction and treaty of Dresden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

13. The king of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed on his conduct: his minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Dresden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction: he affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politics, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project; that they had endeavored to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions; that they had spared neither malicious insinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where: he said he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions; that in such a situation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to

increase the number of his enemies: he asserted, that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation; that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him, and this had been done with all possible moderation; that the country enjoyed all the security and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline; that all due respect was shown to the queen of Poland, who had been prevailed on, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the paper office, of which his Prussian majesty already had copies, and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals, the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied: he observed, that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it on its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superior to all others as that of self-preservation and self-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favor.

14. But the most important step which his Prussian majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions: as a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war on the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian majesty affirms, that to arrive at the source of the vast plan on which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever since the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived on the success of the campaign in the year 1744, gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; while the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburg and Croissen, the circles of Zullichow and Swibus,

together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Dresden, concluded in the year 1745, there was no farther room for a treaty of this nature; yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed; but this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater consistency to their plan, by grounding it on an alliance between the empress-queen and the czarina: accordingly, these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburg in the course of the ensuing year; but the body, or ostensible part of this treaty, was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the public six secret articles, the fourth of which was levelled singly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents: in this article, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden; but explains her real way of thinking on the subject, a little lower, in the following terms:—‘If the king of Prussia should be the first to depart from this peace, by attacking either her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her majesty the empress of Russia, or even the republic of Poland;—in all these cases, the rights of the empress-queen to Silesia and the county of Glatz would again take place, and recover their full effect; the two contracting parties should mutually assist each other with 60,000 men to achieve these conquests.’ The king observes on this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republic of Poland, would be looked on as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia, though neither Russia nor the republic of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the king lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilised nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorised to do in such cases, would be to send those succors to her allies which are due to them by treaties; without her having the least pretence on that account to free herself from the particular engagements subsisting between her and the king: he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this secret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this

article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the king of Prussia: he affirmed, it was obvious from this article that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the king to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his majesty and Russia by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alleged, that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburg with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia, and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the security of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompense, in proportion to the efforts and progress that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if, on any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, the empress-queen should, by their assistance, not only reconquer Silesia and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrow bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly stipulated between him and the empress-queen: he also declared that count Loss, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for settling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leipsic, signed on the eighteenth of May, in the year 1745, as would appear by the documents affixed: he owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the king of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he insisted that even in this case the king of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian majesty: he likewise acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without risk, and the advantages to be gained should be secured in its favor; circumstances proved by divers authentic documents, particularly by a letter from count Fleming to count de Bruhl, informing him that count Uhlenfeld had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too secure measures against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia; that Saxony, in par-

ticular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed; that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements on the footing proposed by the late count de Harrach in the year 1745; a step, which might be taken on occasion of his Polish majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburg: the answer of count Bruhl to this despatch imported, that the king of Poland was not averse to treat in the utmost secrecy with the court of Vienna about succors, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburg, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his majesty: he quoted other despatches to prove the unwillingness of his Polish majesty to declare himself, until the king of Prussia should be attacked and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premises he deduced this inference; that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburg, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded on this treaty; and that having been dispensed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risk, conquer in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbor: in expectation of this period, he said, the Austrian and Saxon ministers labored in concert and underhand with the more ardor to bring the *casus fœderis* into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Russia would authorise the empress-queen to take Silesia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle such a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the king with the empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all sorts of false insinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his majesty's charge a variety of designs; sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the czarina; sometimes views on Poland; and sometimes intrigues in Sweden: by these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animosity of the empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, 1753, she had resolved to attack the king of Prussia, without any farther discussion, whether he should fall on any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with him;—a resolution, which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the

preparations were continued under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to fulfil their engagements, contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the king of Prussia.

15. This is the substance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentic documents were annexed, and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partisans of her imperial majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute by writers of ingenuity; but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices: the empress-queen and the elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own preservation; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbor; but, at the same time, the contracting parties seem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures: perhaps the court of Vienna considered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulsive, and therefore not binding against the rights of natural equity: she did not at all doubt that the king of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden; and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch; and, in all probability, the king of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was desirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great sums he had paid for the subsequent peace: whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprisals by an actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine; but it does not at all appear that his Prussian majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify: by this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that soon filled the empire with ruin and desolation; and the king of Prussia had drawn on himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former

animosities, and every consideration of that balance, which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction: the king himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert; but probably he confided so much in the number, the valor, and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavor at the latter end of the season, or at least establish himself in Bohemia before her allies could move to her assistance: in this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils: he found the empress-queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions, and in a fair way of being assisted by the circles of the empire: he saw himself threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the sword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great Britain. Thus the king of England exchanged the alliance of Russia, who was his subsidiary, and the friendship of the empress-queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his Prussian majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to Great Britain nor as a protector to Hanover; and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, such a price was paid by England, as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

16. About the latter end of November, the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring afresh the assistance of the empire: the king of Prussia had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding succor of the several states, agreeable to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden; but the minister of Mentz, as director of the diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburg ordered it to be printed, and sent to his court for farther instructions: in the mean time his Prussian majesty thought proper to intimate to the king and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to see their country made a scene of war and desolation. In France, the prospect of a general and sanguinary war did not at all allay the disturbance which sprang from the dissension between the clergy and

parliament touching the bull *Unigenitus*: the king, being again brought over to the ecclesiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull *Unigenitus* is in the way of damnation; and certain cases are specified, in which the sacraments are to be denied: the parliament of Paris, considering this brief or bull as a direct attack on the rights of the Gallican church, issued an *arrêt*, or decree, suppressing the said bull; reserving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniences with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. The king, dissatisfied with their interposition, declared his design to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace: accordingly, on the twelfth of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to 10,000 men, took post in the city of Paris; and next day the king repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*.

17. In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was so severely felt by the common people, that insurrections were raised in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who seized by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependents: disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works in Cumberland. The corporations, noblemen, and gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

18. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported

from England to their own country : at the latter end of the season, when the weather became severe, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter-quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament ; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January : but the rigor of this uncomfortable situation was softened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniences : — a humane interposition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of cruelty and ingratitude.

19. On the second of December, his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of Divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to surmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain : he declared, that the succor and preservation of America constituted a main object of his attention and solicitude ; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigor and despatch : he said, an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts ; and in this great view he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people : for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people ; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger : he took notice, that the unnatural union of councils abroad ; the calamities which, in consequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must sensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis : he gave them to understand, that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the desire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people in defence of his person and realm : he told the commons that he confided in their

wisdom for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the public; and it was their duty to lay the burdens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people: he expressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter: he concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honor of his crown; therefore, they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavors for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

20. The king having retired from the house of peers, the speech was read by lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that house; then earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection: in one part of it his majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament; and this article was disagreeable to those who had disapproved of the request in the last session: they said they wished to see the present address unanimously agreed to by the lords; a satisfaction they could not have, if such a paragraph should be inserted; for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure, because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but also furnished the court of France with a plausible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack: besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the subjects in general, and such a paragraph might be considered as an insult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not seem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

21. In the address of the commons no such paragraph was inserted: as soon as the speaker had recited his majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the house unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no sooner discussed, than the house, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence suitable to such an assembly,

resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that so much distressed the poorer class of people: a bill was immediately framed to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and a resolution unanimously taken to address the sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid on all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland: at the same time, vice-admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the house, that the king and the board having been dissatisfied with the conduct of admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as admiral Byng was then a member of the house, and as his confinement might detain him some time from his duty there, the board of admiralty thought it a respect due to the house to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the said admiral. This message being delivered, the journal of the house in relation to rear-admiral Knowles was read,¹⁴ and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

¹⁴ Rear-admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, 1749, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behavior in and relating to an action which happened on the first of October in the preceding year between a British squadron under his command and a squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as four of them were engaged, and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage; that the said Knowles remained on board the ship Cornwall with his flag after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, on her being disabled, have shifted his flag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion, he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. On consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he fell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article: the court, therefore, unanimously adjudged, that he

22. The committees of supply and of ways and means being appointed, took into consideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his majesty to maintain the war with vigor [1757.]: they granted 55,000 men for the sea-service, including 11,419 marines, and for the land-service 49,749 effective men, comprehending 4008 invalids: the supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for assisting his majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions and those of his allies, and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia; for the security of the empire against the eruption of foreign armies,¹⁵ as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged on the first aids or supplies to be granted in this session, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all such children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the said hospital within the compass of one year;¹⁶ for maintaining and supporting the new settlement

should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his flag, on the Cornwall's being disabled.

¹⁵ Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the head of the empire, who in the sequel stigmatised these two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an outlaw.

¹⁶ This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from misery and death, and qualifying them for being serviceable members of the community; but since the liberality of parliament has enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented without question or limitation, the yearly expense has swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated: instead of an asylum

of Nova Scotia ; for repairing and finishing military roads ; for making good his majesty's engagement with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; for the expense of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain ; for empowering his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the ensuing year ; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigence of affairs should require ; for the payment of such persons, in such a manner as his majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South-Carolina and Virginia, in recompense for such services, as, with the approbation of his majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigor against the enemy ; for enabling the East-India company to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories ; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa ; for widening the avenues, and rendering more safe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster.¹⁷ Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to £8,350,325. 9s. 3d. It must be acknowledged, for the honor of the administration, that the house of commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their desire to see the force of the nation exerted with becoming spirit: the sums granted by

for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the dissolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hospital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for economy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and salubrious situation: the hall is adorned with some good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

¹⁷ The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament: it was built at the public expense from the neighborhood of Westminster-hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, constructed with equal elegance and simplicity.

the committee of supply did not exceed £8,350,325. 9s. 3*d.*; the funds established amounted to £8,689,051. 19s. 7*d.*; so that there was an overplus of £338,726. 10s. 4*d.*; an excess, which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

23. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those on whom they immediately fell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting such an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. To those dependents of the ministry, who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great Britain, it ought in common gratitude to be protected, they replied, that every state, in assisting any ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that if the king of England enjoyed by inheritance or succession a province in the heart of France, it would be equally absurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhaust the treasures of Great Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the same right to complain that they suffered for their connexion with England: they observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were secured by the constitutions of the empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal; and not only draw her sword against the enemies of that electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that, exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred, since the accession of the late king, had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms; that, since Hanover was

the favorite object, England would save money and great quantities of British blood by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ransom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might sustain ;—an expedient, that would be productive of another good consequence ; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them to exert themselves with vigor, in order to avoid the detested neighborhood of such an enterprising invader.

24. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal secretary of state ; a gentleman, who had, on sundry occasions, combated the gigantic plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason and all the powers of eloquence : he now imparted to the house an intimation, importing, it was always with reluctance that his majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people ; but as the united councils and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequence, and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful commons, that they would cheerfully assist him in forming and maintaining an army of observation for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Prussian majesty, for the security of the empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the emperor and all the princes of Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel ; and they will, no doubt, be surprised, that Great Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, so embarrassed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no succor, whatever assistance he might demand. The king's message met with as favorable a reception as he could have desired : it was read in the house of commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipo-

tentiaries at Westminster; the request was granted, and the convention approved: with equal readiness did they gratify his majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the seventeenth of May by lord Bateman, intimating, that in this critical juncture emergences might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his majesty was therefore desirous that the house would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigence of affairs might require. The committee of supply forthwith granted a very large sum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries: a like message being at the same time communicated to the upper house, their lordships voted a very loyal address on the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the commons, fell under their inspection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

25. We have already observed, that the first bill which the commons passed in this session was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing for a limited time the duty then payable on foreign corn and flour imported, as also permitting for a certain time all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, biscuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being sent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another: to this act two clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign-built ships, and from any state in amity with his majesty, either into Great Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding 2500 quarters. The commons would

have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial scarcity, and deprived their fellow creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage: on a subsequent report of the committee, the house resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time: while the bill formed on this resolution was in embryo, a petition was presented to the house by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to such a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on business at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses: they, therefore, prayed, that in regard to the public revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners so largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public loss, and relieving their particular distress. The house would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned: the members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever: the bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous opposition: to this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery; consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting: particular interests, however, must often be sacrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage: if they had allowed any sort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the distilling of every kind: the prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the scarcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh of December, with a proviso,

empowering his majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

26. The next bill that engaged the attention of the commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though secretly disliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation: the establishment of a militia was a very popular and desirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile: it had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth, though some acquiesced in the scheme who were not at all hearty in its favor. On the fourth of December, a motion was made for the bill by colonel George Townshend, eldest son of lord viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endowed with penetration to discern and honesty to pursue the real interest of his country, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advantages: leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the several counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr. Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the house, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with distinguished lustre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a surprising solidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependence.

27. While the militia-bill remained under consideration in the house, a petition for a constitutional and well-regulated militia was presented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the king's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled: at the same time remonstrances were offered by the protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster, by the protestant dissenters of Shrewsbury, the dissenting ministers of Devonshire, the protestant dissenters being freeholders and burgesses of the town and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that in the bill then depending it might be proposed

to enact that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law: though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than a declaration of such a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the house paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched on for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counter-petition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and burgesses of the town of Nottingham in relation to their particular franchises, which were accordingly considered in framing the bill.

28. After mature deliberation and divers alterations, it passed the lower house, and was sent to the lords for their concurrence: here it underwent several amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the commons had promised; namely, to 32,340 men for the whole kingdom of England and Wales: the amendments being canvassed in the lower house, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: at length, however, the two houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal sanction: no provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become a money-bill, in which the lords could have made no amendment: in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two houses on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the house of peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill during the following session, when they could with more certainty compute what sum would be necessary for these purposes: after all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect, and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehensive that it would have been dropped altogether had they insisted on the scheme's being executed in its full extent: they were eager to seize this

opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and therefore they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

29. The next measure that fell under the consideration of the house was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and innholders, who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the severity of the weather: this objection implying an attack on the prerogative, the government did not think fit at this juncture to dispute any other way than by procuring a new law in favor of those foreigners: it was entitled, 'a bill to make provision for quartering the foreign troops now in this kingdom,' prepared by lord Barrington, the chancellor of the exchequer, and the solicitor-general, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore: this was almost a transcript of the mutiny-act, with this material difference: it empowered the admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the same manner, as his majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

30. The same favorable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines; a law, which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow-creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the secretary at war, communicated in precepts issued by the high-sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual places of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their succeeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these succeeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to such military officers, as, by notice from the secretary at war, should be directed to attend that service. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained

nothing essentially different from that which had passed in the last session. The next law enacted, was for farther preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are entrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in public houses: by this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a summary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner:¹⁸ with respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans, suffering journeymen, laborers, servants, or apprentices to game with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard tables, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence; and for every subsequent offence ten pounds shall be levied by distress.

31. Divers inconveniences having resulted from the interposition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, several petitions were offered to the house of commons, representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the commons, actuated by a laudable concern for the interest of the woollen manufacture, after due deliberation removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empowered justices of the

¹⁸ It was enacted, that persons pawning, exchanging, or disposing of goods, without leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labor; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publicly in the house of correction, or such other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the prosecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry of the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: that a pawnbroker, receiving linen or apparel entrusted to others to be washed or mended, should forfeit double the sum lent on it, and restore the goods: that on oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, the justice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and on refusal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods pawned for any sum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two years, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, interest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years should be forfeited and sold; the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

peace to make rates for the payment of wages.¹⁹ The commons were not more forward to provide supplies for prosecuting the war with vigor, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The society of the free British fishery presented a petition, alleging, that they had employed the sum of £130,305. 8s. 6d. together with the intire produce of their fish, and all the moneys arising from the several branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the said fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves so far reduced in their capital as to be utterly incapable of farther prosecuting the fisheries with any hope of success, unless indulged with the farther assistance of parliament: they prayed therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the said fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which by the fishery-acts they were then bound to carry; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and forasmuch as many of the stock-proprietors were unable to advance any farther sum for prosecuting this branch of commerce, and others unwilling, in the present situation, and under the present restraints, to risk any farther sum in the undertaking; that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing season, to employ the busses in such a manner as they should find for the advantage of the society. While

¹⁹ It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first of May, 1757, be valid, notwithstanding any rate established, or to be established; but that these contracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of workmanship or wages, and not to the payment thereof in any other manner than in money; and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaver the wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should be performed and delivered, the same being demanded, he should forfeit forty shillings for every such offence.

the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then stood, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expense and loss of time; and while the war continued, durst not stay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most imminent risks, by going and returning without convoy: that ever since the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth following, as thereby the petitioners had lost two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's sail of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the house for farther assistance and relief; and prayed that Campbell-town in Argyleshire might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the busses belonging to Whitehaven, for the summer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use such nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring-fishery; that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty; that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper seasons; that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might hereafter find best adapted for that purpose; that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbell-town would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven: this last resolution, however, was not inserted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal assent.

32. Such are the connexions, dependences, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and inquiry in the legislature to discern and distinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The society of merchant-adventurers in the city of Bristol al-

leged, in a petition to the house of commons, that great quantities of bar-iron were imported into Great Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places, and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers: they affirmed that bar-iron, imported from North-America, would answer the same purposes, and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation, but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present majesty's reign, the importation of bar-iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted; but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar-iron might be imported from North-America into Great Britain, duty free, by all his majesty's subjects: this request being reinforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their several interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm, and in divers counter-petitions specified many ill consequences which they alleged would arise from its being enacted into a law: pamphlets were published on both sides of the question; and violent disputes were kindled on this subject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than 109 forges in England and Wales, besides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing 18,000 tons of iron: that as the mines in Great Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been considerably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free; a supposition, which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffic: they alleged that the iron works, already carried on in England, occasioned a consumption of 198,000 cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow on barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford shade, and preserve a moisture in the ground,

the pasture is more valuable with the wood, than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently, all the estates, where these now grow, would sink in their yearly value: that these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees, so necessary for the purposes of building: they asserted, that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great Britain, was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that sort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines; it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the same quality, and in a few years be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia: they inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edged tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed: the importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other sort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favorers of the bill solicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at such a price as is consistent with the preservation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legislature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbors of Great Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavoring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of

materials : otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture ; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utensils made of steel and iron : that being in danger of losing not only the manufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is sold at present, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable on the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to sell their produce cheaper than it has been for some years afforded : that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all sorts of iron from the American plantations : that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of Britain can be afforded ; for in the colonies labor of all kinds is much dearer than in England ; if a man employs his own slaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase-money, because when one of them dies, or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal : that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain considerably more per cent. than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate ; a circumstance, which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an exemption from freight and insurance, which lie heavy on the American adventurer, especially in time of war : with respect to the apprehension of the leather-tanners, they observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expense of grubbing up the wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced : the wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce considerable advantage : therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no coppice would be grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood ; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting has become a prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these argu-

ments, examined disputed facts, and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron: at length, Mr. John Pitt reported to the house their opinion, implying that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his majesty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain, and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed: the house having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners, and possessors of coppices and woodlands, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, alleging, that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass, they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the soil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested prosecutions: in consequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry VIII. as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage: then it passed through both houses, and received the royal sanction. As there was not time, after this affair came on the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country; the house presented an address to his majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, 1749, to the fifth of January, 1756, each year being distinguished.

33. From this important object the parliament converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature: in consequence of a petition by the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and passed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for

the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the public were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being for the amendment and preservation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other, for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper, which at that time raged among the horned cattle: a third arose from the distress of poor silk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of subsisting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by war and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy: in order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting, that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first of December, 1757, organzine thrown silk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the custom-house of London wheresoever landed; but that no Italian thrown silk, coarser than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy, nor any other thrown silk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof: notwithstanding several petitions, presented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy, as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw silks, representing the evil consequences that would probably attend the passing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a present supply to the poor manufacturers.

34. The next civil regulation established in this session of parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly suggested, might have been much more beneficial to the public. In order to discourage the practice of smuggling, and prevent the desperados concerned therein from enlisting in the service of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the same not having been paid or secured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to such offenders; or had been guilty of receiving such goods after seizure; or of any act whatsoever, whereby persons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering,

wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or assisting therein; should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no suit should then have been commenced, or composition made; on condition that he should, before being apprehended or prosecuted, and before the first of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his majesty's fleet, to serve as a common sailor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duly discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. An attempt was made in favor of the seamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and subject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity: Mr. Grenville, brother to earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of seamen employed in his majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, speedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for rescuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition: the proposal was corroborated by divers petitions; the bill was prepared, read, printed; and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the house of lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament.

35. The house of commons, being desirous of preventing for the future such distresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to consider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future: for this purpose they were empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; and it was resolved that all who attended the committee should have voices: having inquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions; and a bill was brought in to explain and amend the laws against regraters, forestallers, and engrossers of corn: the committee also received instructions to inquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers with regard to bread, and to consider of proper methods to prevent them in the sequel; but no farther progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals in a great measure depended on a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were said to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, bone, ashes, alum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a con-

summation of villany for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rose Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law passed in the reign of king William III., entitled, 'an act to punish governors of plantations in this kingdom for crimes committed by them in the plantation.' This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which some British governors had been lately distinguished; but, before the bill could be brought in, the parliament was prorogued.

36. But no step taken by the house of commons in the course of this session was more interesting to the body of the people than the inquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited such loud and universal clamor: by addresses to the king, unanimously voted, the commons requested that his majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the secretaries of state, the commissioners of the admiralty, or any others of his majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his majesty's possessions in Europe, since the first of January, 1755, to the first of August, 1756: they likewise desired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, 1755, to the thirtieth day of April in the following year, with the copies of all sailing orders sent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his majesty's ships in the several ports of Great Britain at the time of admiral Byng's departure, with the squadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made by the admiralty, with the number of seamen mustered and borne on board the respective ships: they demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the secretaries of state or lords of the admiralty, relating to the condition of his squadron and to the execution of his orders: in a word, they required the inspection of all papers, which could in any manner tend to explain the loss

of Minorca and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's squadron. His majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the house, ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the consideration of a committee of the whole house: in the course of their deliberations, they addressed his majesty for more information; till at length the truth seemed to be smothered under such an enormous burden of papers, as the efforts of a whole session could not have properly removed: indeed many discerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the inquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole house: they observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and suspicious nature ought to have been referred to a select and secret committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most solemn and deliberate manner; that the names of the committee ought to have been published for the satisfaction of the people, who could have judged with some certainty whether the inquiry would be carried on with such impartiality as the national misfortune required: they suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole house was a mal-contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation; to introduce confusion and contest; to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and disgust the inquirers; that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigested, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accusations of the people: a select committee would have probably examined some of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be submitted to a select and secret committee, could not, consistently with the honor of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house: indeed, it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended on in any matter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on the occasion; a circumstance the less to be regretted, as, in times past, evil ministers have generally found means to render such inquiries

ineffectual ; and the same arts would at any rate have operated with the same efficacy, had a secret committee been employed at this juncture : be that as it may, several resolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not carried by the majority without violent dispute and severe altercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice : by the former, it appeared to the committee, that his majesty, from the twenty-seventh of August, 1755, to the twentieth of April in the succeeding year, received such repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French king intended to invade his dominions of Great Britain or Ireland : in the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng ; nor any greater reinforcement than the regiment which was sent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, consistently with the state of the navy, and the various services essential to the safety of his majesty's dominions and the interests of his subjects : it must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that suggested these opinions : whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves ; yet, the circumstances of the two nations being considered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. But the last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised : the number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to 250, having on board 50,000 seamen and marines : intelligence and repeated information of the French design on Minorca had been conveyed to the ministry of England about six months before it was put in execution : is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and six frigates to save the important island of Minorca ? Is it easy to conceive, that from a standing army of 50,000 men, one regiment of troops could not have been detached to reinforce a garrison, well known to be insufficient for the works it was destined to defend ? To persons of common

intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the admiralty as early as the month of September, 1755, with express notice that it would consist of twelve ships of the line; that the design against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh of August, by consul Banks, of Carthagenæ; confirmed by letters from consul Bertes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-sixth of January, and received by Mr. Fox, secretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being absent, and the place otherwise unprovided for a siege; when the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, consisted of two ships of the line and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops were sent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the sixth of April, with no more ships of the line, than by the most early and authentic intelligence the government were informed would sail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been joined by commodore Edgecumbe; a junction, on which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this squadron contained no troops but such as belonged to the four regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar; which order was neither obeyed nor understood: that, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, admiral Osborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the sixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this squadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirty-two ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped; that admiral Hawke was sent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate to cruise in the bay of Biscay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had sailed for the West-Indies;

and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent; consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: that instead of attending to this important object, the admiralty, on the eighth of March, sent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape Barfleur; on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherburg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to reinforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's squadron, without exposing Great Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat signals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there was in port, exclusive of his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen frigates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and nineteen frigates almost equipped. From these and other circumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred that a greater number of ships might have been detached to the Mediterranean than were actually sent with admiral Byng: that the not sending an earlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost; and co-operated with the delay of the ministry in sending thither reinforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue absent from their duty, and their omitting to give orders for raising miners to serve in the fortress of Mahon.

37. The next inquiry in which the house of commons engaged related to the contracts for victualling the forces in America, which were supposed by some patriots to be fraudulent and unconscionable: this suspicion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor, being interrogated by the committee appointed to examine the particulars, prudently interpreted it in such a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the legislature: the house therefore resolved that the contract entered into on the twenty-sixth of March, 1756, by the commissioners of

the treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the earl of Loudoun, was prudent and necessary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America.

38. The preceding session an address had been presented to the king by the house of commons, desiring his majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his excellency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica: this governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts during the course of his administration; but these imputations he incurred by an exertion of power, which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commercial interest of the island: this was his changing the seat of government, and procuring an act of assembly for removing the several laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to several offices in that island, from Spanish Town to Kingston; and for obliging the several officers to keep their offices and hold a supreme court of judicature at this last place, to which he had moved the seat of government. Spanish Town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconsiderable inland place, of no security, trade, or importance; whereas Kingston was the centre of commerce; situated on the side of a fine harbor filled with ships; well secured from the insults of any enemy; large, wealthy, and flourishing: here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the sugars that grow on the island: they found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish Town, which stands at a considerable distance; and the same inconvenience and expense being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to prosecute suits at law or attend the assembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting that, in consideration of these inconveniences, added to that of the weakness of Spanish Town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed: he complied with their request; and in so doing entailed on himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted: this seems to have been the real source of the animosity and clamor incurred by Mr. Knowles, against

whom a petition, signed by nineteen members of the assembly, had been sent to England, and presented to his majesty. In the two sessions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the house of commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colors, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined: Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole house: in the mean time, petitions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alleging that the removal of the public courts, offices, and records of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the seat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the island more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commercial business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore praying that the purposes of the act passed in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution in such manner as the house should think proper: the committee, having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing that a certain resolution of the assembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth of October, 1753, implying a claim of right in that assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commission to his governor of the said island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain: that the last six resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth of October, 1753, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the king's instruction to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative or the property of his subjects might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure should be known: that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between the people of Jamaica and their governor, vice-admiral Knowles,

whose conduct on this occasion seems to have been justified by the legislature: the parliament, however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish Town to Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the island in general.

39. The last subject which we shall mention as having fallen under the cognisance of the commons during this session of parliament, was the state of Milford-haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious, safe, and commodious harbors in Great Britain: here the country affords many conveniences for building ships of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazines: it might be fortified at a very small expense, so as to be quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and rendered by far the most useful harbor in the kingdom for fleets, cruisers, trading-ships, and packet-boats, bound to and from the westward; for from hence they may put to sea almost with any wind, and even at low water: they may weather Scilly and Cape Clear when no vessel can stir from the British channel, or out of the French ports of Brest and Rochefort; and as a post can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the centre of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from several merchants in London was presented, and recommended to the house in a message from the king, specifying the advantages of this harbor, and the small expense at which it might be fortified; and praying that the house would take this important subject into consideration: accordingly, a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with accuracy and deliberation: at length, the report being made to the house by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unanimously agreed to an address, representing to his majesty, that many great losses had been sustained by the trade of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of a safe harbor on the western coast of the island, for the reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruisers: that the harbor of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated; and, if properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes: they therefore humbly besought his majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the sides of the said harbor, in the most convenient places for guarding the

entrance called Hubberstone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbor; and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be completed, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the said harbor: finally, they assured him, the house would make good to his majesty all such expenses as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promise that such directions should be given: the harbor was actually surveyed, the places were pitched on for batteries, and the estimates prepared; but no farther progress has since been made.

40. We have now finished the detail of all the material transactions of this session, except what relates to the fate of admiral Byng, which now claims our attention: in the mean time, we may observe, that on the fourth of July the session was closed with his majesty's harangue, the most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which turned on his royal assurance, that the succor and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care; and, next to the security of his kingdoms, should continue to be his great and principal object: he told them he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by the blessing of God, might effectually disappoint the designs of the enemy in those parts; that he had no farther view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to preserve tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

41. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on admiral Byng, the son of that great officer who had acquired such honor by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his services by the title of lord viscount Torrington: his second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father's profession, and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with disgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ship *St. George*, in the harbor of Ports-

mouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he passed: the court, having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French fleets, on the twentieth of May last, did not do his utmost endeavor to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's castle: they therefore unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the said admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board of such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty should please to direct; but as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behavior; but that he delivered his orders coolly and distinctly, without seeming deficient in personal courage; and, from other circumstances, they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or disaffection; they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. The admiral himself behaved through the whole trial with the most cheerful composure, seemingly the effect of conscious innocence, on which perhaps he too much relied: even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honorably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the tribunal to London: a gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the sentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might

summon all his fortitude to his assistance ; and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received : the admiral gave tokens of surprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or disorder, either then, or in the court when the sentence was pronounced : on the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and sighing with extraordinary emotion ; he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeisance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

42. The officers who composed this tribunal were so sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of admiralty, containing this remarkable paragraph :—' We cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under ; which admits of no mitigation if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment ; and, therefore, for our own consciences' sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships in the most earnest manner to recommend him to his majesty's clemency.' The lords of the admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the king, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the sentence ; as the crime of negligence, for which the admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings : at the same time, copies of two petitions from George lord viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinsman admiral Byng, were submitted to his majesty's royal wisdom and determination : all the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon ; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favor, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his preservation : but infamous arts were used to whet the savage appetite of the populace for blood ; the cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land ; sullen clouds of suspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne ; and the sovereign was given to understand that the execution of admiral Byng was a victim absolutely

necessary to appease the fury of the people : his majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the admiralty, referred the sentence to the consideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal : this report being transmitted from the privy-council to the admiralty, their lordships issued a warrant for executing the sentence of death on the twenty-eighth of February : one gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader.²⁰

²⁰ Admiral Forbes's reasons for not signing the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution :—

‘ It may be thought great presumption in me to differ from so great authority as that of the twelve judges ; but when a man is called on to sign his name to an act which is to give authority to the shedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

‘ In the case before us, it is not the merit of admiral Byng that I consider : whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide ; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my serious consideration.

‘ The twelfth article of war, on which admiral Byng's sentence is grounded, says, according to my understanding of its meaning, ‘ that every person, who, in the time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, to do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall suffer death.’ The court-martial does, in express words, acquit admiral Byng of cowardice and disaffection, and does not name the word negligence : admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be said, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned ; otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection : but it must be acknowledged that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence ; for wilful negligence, in admiral Byng's situation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes ; besides, these crimes, which are implied only and not named, may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot satisfy the conscience in case of blood.

‘ Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-martial ; his life and death were left to their opinions : the court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the

43. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown seemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconsistent with law: a member of parliament, who had sat on the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the house of commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on admiral Byng, and perhaps discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper: although this application produced no resolution in the house, the king, on the twenty-sixth of February, sent a message to the commons by Mr. secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation

severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation: the court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their consciences, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they must earnestly recommend him to his majesty for mercy; it is evident then, that in the opinions and consciences of the judges he was not deserving of death.

‘ The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the court-martial determine admiral Byng’s fate? If it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forfeited: his judges declare him not deserving of death; but, mistaking either the meaning of the law or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death, because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man’s life be taken away by such a sentence? I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of admiral Byng’s deserts: that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my conscience, which, after deliberate consideration, assisted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt; and therefore I cannot consent to sign a warrant whereby the sentence of the court-martial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men’s opinions; all I endeavor at, is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire or wish is, that I may not be misunderstood: I do not pretend to judge admiral Byng’s deserts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

‘ Signed, Feb. 6, 1757, at the Admiralty.

‘ J. FORBES.’

to admiral Byng, and resisted all solicitations to the contrary; yet, as a member of the house had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial on oath, what grounds there were for such scruples; and that his majesty was resolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the said examination that admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The sentence might be strictly legal, and at the same time very severe, according to the maxim, *summum jus, summa injuria*: in such cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigor of the law ought to be softened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative: that this was the case of admiral Byng, appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury; a species of intercession, which has generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favorable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial: how much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience in behalf of a man, whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery,—the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! Such an interposition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation: at present, however, it passed without censure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a design to encroach on the privileges of the house.

44. The message being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in to release the members of the court-martial from the obligation of secrecy, and passed through the lower house without opposition; but in the house of lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation: they sent a message to the commons, desiring them to give leave, that such of the members of the court-martial as were members of that house might attend their lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hesitation: as they did not insist on any excuse, nor produce any satisfactory reason for showing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occasion for passing any such bill, which therefore

they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr. Byng an object of mercy, than those mentioned in the letter sent to the board of admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

45. The unfortunate admiral, being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with resignation and tranquillity: he maintained a surprising cheerfulness to the last; nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least sign of impatience or apprehension: during that interval he had remained on board of the *Monarque*, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbor of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the admiralty: on the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this solemnity in the harbor, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and vessels filled with spectators: about noon, the admiral, having taken leave of a clergyman and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the sentence: he advanced with a firm and deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered; until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a signal for his executioners, who fired a volley so decisive, that five balls passed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant: the time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the coffin, did not exceed three minutes.

46. Thus fell, to the astonishment of all Europe, admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errors and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, meanly given up, and cruelly sacrificed to vile considerations: the sentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of dissimulation, in the following declaration, which imme-

diately before his death he delivered to the marshal of the admiralty:—‘A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent persecution, and frustrate the farther malice of my enemies; nor need I envy them a life, subject to the sensations my injuries and the injustice done me must create: persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamor and prejudice against me will be seen through: I shall be considered, as I now perceive myself, a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects: my enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country’s misfortunes can be owing to me: I heartily wish the shedding of my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty’s honor and my country’s service: I am sorry that my endeavors were not attended with more success, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in any expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaffection: my heart acquits me of these crimes; but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error in judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved and subside, as my resentment has done: the supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives; and to him I must submit the justice of my cause.’

47. Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favor, notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practised to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding this solemn appeal to Heaven in his last moments, and even self-conviction of innocence, the character of admiral Byng, in point of personal courage, will still with many people remain problematical: they will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved: a

man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in consequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits; and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow: after an officer, thus influenced, has hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eager for its own justification, assembles with surprising industry every favorable circumstance of excuse, and broods over them with parental partiality; until it becomes not only satisfied, but even enamored of their beauty and complexion, like a doting mother, blind to the deformity of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been; whatever consequences might have attended his behavior on that occasion; as the tribunal before which he was tried acquitted him expressly of cowardice and treachery, he was without all doubt a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonorable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lost in oblivion or remembered with disdain. The people of Great Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous, have been too much indulged, on every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martial, and dismissions; which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable, and to disgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

CHAP. XXVII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1757.

1. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the administration—2. Obligated to resign—3. Restored to their employments—4. Coalition of parties—5. Descent on the coast of France meditated—6. Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet sails, September 8.—7. Admiral Knowles sent to take Aix—8. Attack and surrender of Aix—9. A descent resolved on—10. The fleet returns to Spithead. His majesty appoints a board of inquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return—11. Proceedings of the court of inquiry—12. Its report—13. Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial and acquitted—14. Fleets sent to the East and West-Indies—15. Success of the English privateers—16. Riots occasioned by the high price of corn—17. Operations in America—18. Lord Loudoun's conduct in America—19. Fort William Henry taken by the French—20. Naval transactions in America—21. Attempt of M. de Kersin on Cape Coast Castle, in Africa—22. State of affairs in the East-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him—23. Reduction of Chandernagore—24. Colonel Clive defeats the suba at Plaissey, who is afterwards deposed and put to death—25. King of France assassinated. Tortures inflicted on the assassin—26. Changes in the French ministry—27. State of the confederacy against the king of Prussia—28. Precautions taken by his Prussian majesty—29. Skirmishes between the Prussians and Austrians—30. Neutrality of the emperor and behavior of the Dutch—31. The French take possession of several towns in the Low Countries belonging to the king of Prussia—32. Declaration of the czarina against the king of Prussia. Factions in Poland—33. Fruitless endeavors of the English to restore the tranquillity of Germany—34. King of Prussia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians at Richenbourg—35. King of Prussia gains a complete victory over the Austrians near Prague. Marshal Schwerin killed—36. Prague invested,—37. and bombarded. Brave defence of the besieged—38. Count Daun takes the command of the Austrian army: his character—39. King of Prussia defeated at Kolin—40. He raises the siege of Prague, and quits Bohemia—41. Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army assembles under the duke of Cumberland—42. Skirmishes with the French—43. Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser: the French follow him, and take Minden and Emden, and lay Hanover under contribution—44. Battle of Hastenbeck—45. The French take Hamelen. Duke de Riche-

lieu supersedes marshal d'Etrées in the command of the French army—46. The French take possession of Hanover and Hesse-Cassel,—47. and reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland signs the convention of Closter-Seven.

1. **THOUGH** the parliament of Great Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government for a vigorous prosecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual through a want of harmony in her councils: in the course of the last year the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigor in the administration: the defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Oswego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruises, absurd dispositions of fleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude designs of a weak, dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people: in order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity: the former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer; and their friends were vested with other honorable though subordinate offices.

2. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, on whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance; but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leaven: the administration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream; the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay: the old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes: they could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country: the new ministers combated in

council every such plan, however patronised; they openly opposed in parliament every design which they deemed unworthy of the crown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinguished by the predilection of the sovereign: far from bargaining for their places, and surrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their independence and candor with the most vigilant circumspection, and seemed determined to show that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity towards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded the throne were supposed to have concealed the true characters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of their royal master; to have represented them as obstinate, imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with such colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government according to his majesty's inclination: these suggestions, artfully inculcated, produced the desired effect: on the ninth of April, Mr. Pitt, by his majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department: in the room of Mr. Legge, the king was pleased to grant the office of chancellor of the exchequer to the right honorable lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of king's-bench; the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important services. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the same intention.

3. What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters: the whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame; every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolise: not contented with making offerings so flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonor, and reduced her to the

verge of destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of her delivery and redemption: the whole kingdom caught fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning, and the artifice of a faction long support itself against the united voice of Great Britain, which soon pierced the ears of the sovereign: it was not possible to persuade the people that salutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honor of their country, and steady adherence to an upright, disinterested conduct, had secured their confidence and claimed their veneration: a great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king, ever ready to meet half-way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments: on this they rested the security and honor of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces and misfortunes: accordingly, his majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the twenty-ninth of June; and, five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge; promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

4. It would not perhaps be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who were not perfectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the house of commons, to thwart every measure in which they did not themselves partake: this consideration, and very recent experience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, salutary in itself and prudent, because it was the only means of assuaging the rage of faction, and healing those divisions, more pernicious to the public than the most mistaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley was made lord-keeper of the great seal, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council, on the thirteenth of June; the custody of the privy-seal was committed to earl Temple; his grace, the duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord viscount Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville were appointed commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer; lord Anson, admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of admiralty; Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his majesty's

guards, garrisons, and land-forces; and the earl of Thomond was made treasurer of the king's household, and sworn of his majesty's privy-council: other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherents of either party; and so equally was the royal favor distributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time subsisted: ingredients, seemingly heterogeneous, consolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those, whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

5. The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprise, which should at the same time produce some change in the circumstances of his Prussian majesty, already depressed by the repulse of Kolin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall on him, like a torrent, which had so lately swept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of disgrace: a well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France it was thought would probably give a decisive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favor of the Prussian monarch and the duke of Cumberland, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts: both were objects of great concern, on which the sovereign and ministry were sedulously bent: his royal highness, the duke, in a particular manner urged the necessity of some enterprise of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation: the ministry foresaw, that by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succors would be cut off from America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of admiralty and to the merchants; and those ideal fears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the public credit, wholly dispelled.

6. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the isle of Wight: the naval armament, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports,

was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer, whose faithful services recommended him above all others to this command; and rear-admiral Knowles was appointed his subaltern: Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations: the destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms: various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. Pitt expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived: the troops expressed an eager impatience to signalise themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe, but the superstitious drew unfavorable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation: at last, the transports arrived; the troops were put on board with all expedition; and the fleet got under sail on the eighth of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honor: the public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France, near Rochefort or Rochelle.

7. On the twentieth the fleet made the isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke sent an order to vice-admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque-road, to stand in as near to the isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with such ships of his division as he thought necessary for the service; and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or surrender it: but the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing in to the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a signal thrown out to give chase: admiral Knowles, when too late, ordered the *Magnanime*, captain Howe, and *Torbay*, captain Keppel, on that service, and thereby retarded the attack on which he was immediately sent: a stroke of policy

greatly to be admired ; as from hence he gained time to assure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his majesty's ships into danger.

8. While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war safe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the isle of Oleron, and the commander in chief publishing orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful, had there ever been occasion to put them in execution : on the twenty-third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe in the *Magnanime*, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of 600 men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference : as the *Magnanime* approached, the enemy fired briskly on her ; but captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavors, kept on his course without flinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery : it was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to vice-admiral Knowles.

9. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed a happy omen of farther advantages ; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was universally expected, several successive days were spent in councils of war, soundings of the coast, and deliberations whether the king's express orders were practicable or to be complied with : eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy : Sir Edward Hawke indeed proposed laying a sixty-gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to secure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochefort : this a French pilot on board, Thierry, undertook ; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, vice-admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run aground at above the distance of two miles from the fort ; on which, the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned : the admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle ; but this overture was over-ruled for reasons which we need not men-

tion: it was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and on the mouth of the river Charente: an order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night: accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed; and now they remained beating against each other and the sides of the ships for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when, at length, an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports; and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned: the succeeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land officers, in a council of war, took the final resolution of returning to England without any farther attempts, fully satisfied they had done all in their power to execute the designs of the ministry; and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry sovereign, the murmurs of an incensed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia: such was the issue of an expedition, that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

10. The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment: the public expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the sanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by so formidable an armament: the ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers; and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprise, who had put the nation to great expense before they had obtained the necessary information: certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to inquire into the causes of the late miscarriage: this alone it was that could appease the public clamors, and afford general satisfaction: the enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavored to wrest the miscarriages of the expedition to his prejudice; but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole

people of England, who never could persuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of superior merit, integrity, and disinterestedness, would now sacrifice his reputation by a mock armament; or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip, vested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well appointed expedition? The people, they said, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger: it was publicly mentioned, that such backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the isle of Oleron, as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Basqueroad, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers sent out to reconnoitre had returned with such intelligence as seemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his majesty's orders, — 'to attempt, as far as should be found practicable, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Rochefort, in order to attack, and by a vigorous impression force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of his power, all docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, as shall be found there?' Such rumors as these, every where propagated, rendered an inquiry no less necessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition than to the minister who had projected it: accordingly, a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his majesty, to inquire into the reasons why the fleet returned without having executed his majesty's orders.

11. The three general officers, who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general; major-generals lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his majesty's orders, it was necessary to inquire

into the nature of the intelligence on which the expedition was projected: the first and most important was a letter sent to Sir John, afterwards lord Ligonier, by lieutenant-colonel Clark: this letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained in substance, that colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year 1754, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable in case of a rupture between Great Britain and France: on his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a *revêtement*, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered way, and, in many places, no ditch; so that the bottom of the wall was seen at a distance: he remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a considerable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or 200 or 300 yards, there was no rampart, or even intrenchment, but only small ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which, however, were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and slimy: towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet on either side appeared; and on the land side he observed some high ground within the distance of 150 or 200 yards of the town; in which condition the colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above seventy years: to prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him; however, as to utility, the colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan: he could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet: the river might be about 130 feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts: as to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the colonel was on the spot, amounted to about 1000. This was the first intelligence the ministry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded sufficient room to believe that an attack by surprise might be attended with happy consequences: it was true, that colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace; but it was likewise probable that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained

in the same condition during the last two or three wars with France, when they had the same reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council: this person declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and served as first pilot in several of the king's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the *Magnanime*, before she was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which indeed is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary: the road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathoms water, as far as Bayonne; the channel between the islands of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers: he affirmed, that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the *Magnanime* alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores; that men might be landed to the north of Fort Fouras, out of sight of the fort, on a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet: this landing-place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and morasses: he said, great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both sides, for about sixty paces, it was enclosed only with palisades, without a fossé. To the intelligence of colonel Clark and Thierry, the minister added a secret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than 10,000 men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast from St. Valery to Bourdeaux: in consequence of the above information the secret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, disturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength

and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his majesty's arms. The board of inquiry took next into consideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister previous to his sailing: then they examined the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war sent to sound the French shore from Rochelle to Fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the result of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-seventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which, Sir John Mordaunt was called on to give his reasons for not putting his majesty's instructions and orders in execution: this he did in substance as follows:—the attempt on Rochefort, he understood, was to have been on the footing of a *coup de main*, or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered, or the alarm taken: he also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his majesty did not require it should, unless a proper place for debarking and a safe retreat for the troops was discovered, particularly where the ships could protect them; and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found: his sentiments, he said, were confirmed by a paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition: it was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had seen it three years before, yet that a few days' preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a *coup de main*: judging, therefore, the dependence on such an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter as easily secured against the former: but this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place, and the nature of the service: he

recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarkation as during the voyage; of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts, from Brest and St. Maloes to Rochefort; the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in sounding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot; the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred; the endeavors used, after the twenty-sixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his majesty's instructions; the attempt made to land, in consequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather; and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

12. Having considered all these circumstances, and examined several officers who served in the expedition, the court of inquiry gave in the following report to his majesty:—‘It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is, the not attacking Fort Fouras by sea, at the same time that it could have been attacked by land, agreeably to the first design; which certainly must have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your majesty's instructions into execution: it was at first resolved by admiral Hawke, Thierry the pilot having undertaken the safe conduct of a ship to Fort Fouras for that purpose; but afterwards laid aside, on the representation of vice-admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was aground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore; but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give any information on that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereon: we conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land, when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from rear-admiral Broderick and the captains who had been out to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither advisable or practicable; but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore sufficient to have prevented the attempting

a descent, in pursuance of the instructions signed by your majesty; neither does it appear to us that there were any reasons sufficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so changed in respect to its strength or posture of defence since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack on the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your majesty's command: and we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible despatch: we beg leave also to remark, that after its being unanimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of returning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the said council; but as the whole operation was of so inconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your majesty as a cause of the failure of the expedition; since we cannot but look on the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid aside in the council of war of the twenty-fifth.'

13. This report, signed by the general officers, Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which sat soon after on the conduct of the commander in chief of the expedition: the enemies of the minister made a handle of the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the public, by laying the whole blame on his forming a project so expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only slight at the first view, but false on farther examination; but the people were still his advocates; they discerned something mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief: they plainly perceived that caution took place of vigor, and that the hours for action were spent in deliberations and councils of war: had he debarked the troops, and made such an attack as would have distinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence perhaps might have condemned him: even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to Mordaunt's inactivity; the loss of so many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgraceful to the nation than the too safe return of the present armament: the one demonstrated that the British spirit still existed; the other seemed to indicate

the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A public trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his majesty: it is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct scrutinised, by which method alone he was sensible his character could be re-established: his majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly signed on the third of December: the court was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and three colonels, who sat on the fourteenth, and continued, by several adjournments, to the twentieth: lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, that he, being appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his majesty, under his royal sign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his majesty's said orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court were nearly similar to those of the court of inquiry: the same evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir Edward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no essential point from the former, made by the prisoner, but the judgment given was clear and explicit: Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found not guilty, and therefore acquitted; while the public opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present court-martial as they had formerly against the severity of the sentence passed on a late unfortunate admiral: the evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversation, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required: he publicly defended his character; his performance was censured, and himself dismissed the service of his sovereign.

14. Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West-Indies, and ensure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East-Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration: on the ninth of February admiral

West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West-Indies, and commodore Steevens with the trade to the East-Indies, in the month of March: admiral Holbourn and commodore Holmes, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helens for America in April: the admiral had on board 6200 effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay: in May, admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediterranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

15. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and societies greatly annoyed the French commerce: the Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of men who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz: the prize was estimated worth £200,000, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican were squandering in mirth, festivity, and riot the imaginary wealth so easily and unexpectedly acquired: such were the remonstrances made to his catholic majesty with respect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East-India company asserted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to be an illegal capture, and consequently restored to the French, to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer. Besides the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and ships of war, exclusive of the duke d'Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at £160,000, taken by the Dover man of war; and above six privateers brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockhart, for which he was honored with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard: this run of good fortune

was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of twenty-one ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of nineteen, whence the merchants sustained considerable damage; and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

16. Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engrossers still kept up the price of corn: so incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered into to frustrate the endeavors of the legislature and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in several counties, sometimes to the number of 5000 or 6000, and seized on the grain brought to market: nor was it indeed to be wondered at, considering the distress to which many persons were reduced: the difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labor at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged them to dismiss above half the hands before employed: hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the public, namely, the facility with which recruits were raised for his majesty's service: at last, the plentiful crops, with which it pleased Providence to bless these kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wise measures of the legislature broke all the villanous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The public joy on this event was greatly augmented by the safe arrival of the fleet from the Leeward Islands, consisting of ninety-two sail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth £3,000,000 sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved: about the same time the India company was highly elated with the joyful account of the safe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of sixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns: after a warm engagement, which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own side: when the engagement began, the captains had promised a reward of £1000 to the crews, by way of incitement to their valor; and the company doubled the sum, in recompense of their

fidelity and courage. His majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage sustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbors and forts on the western coast to receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary security should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected: how far his majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemy's privateers on that coast sufficiently indicated.

17. Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expectation: not all the endeavors of the earl of Loudoun to quiet the dissensions among the different provinces, and to establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail: circumstances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raise the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general: the enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils: by their successes in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes; hence they were furnished with the means of practising on the Indians in all the different districts; and obliging them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to act in their favor: every accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance or pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm: in consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preserved any sincere regard for the British government: the communication with these faithful allies was now cut off by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great carrying-place: a strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief, and 400 Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland; but this reinforcement by no means counterbalanced the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it

with logs. Every person, the least acquainted with the country, readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them: by the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

18. In the mean time, lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow: the attack on Crown-Point, which had been so long meditated, was laid aside, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisburg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more considerable object in itself: admiral Holbourn arrived at Halifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take on him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interposed: it was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of 6000 men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England: when the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to 12,000 men; an army that raised great expectations: immediately some small vessels were sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of ships of war and transports, was now safe at anchor in the harbor of Louisburg: their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many persons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified: such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halifax: some were for setting aside all thoughts of the expedition for that season; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for prosecuting it with vigor, in spite of all dangers and difficulties: their disputes were carried on with

great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisburg for France was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland: she had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea: it clearly appeared, there were at that time in Louisburg 6000 regular troops, 3000 natives, and 1300 Indians, with seventeen ships of the line and three frigates moored in the harbor; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military stores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the disgrace of the assailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America: the commanders at Halifax were fully apprised of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was therefore almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced, which alone would be sufficient to frustrate their endeavors, and render the enterprise abortive: this resolution seems indeed to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief.

19. Lord Loudoun's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the successes of the former campaign: that general had, in the very commencement of the season, made three different attacks on Fort William Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigor and resolution of the garrison: but his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near 400 men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place: landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took: having procured the necessary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed 300 men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy reinforced with 400 men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that of the whole detachment only two officers and seventy private men escaped: flushed with this advantage, animated

by the absence of the British commander in chief then at Halifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay siege to that place. Fort William Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George; it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near 3000 men, and covered by an army of 4000, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had assembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near 10,000 men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery: on the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged in humanity to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance:—‘A detachment of your garrison has lately,’ says he, ‘experienced their cruelty; I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed: your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days; and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it: I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aides-de-camp: you may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm.’ General Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and security bordering on infatuation: it is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general’s designs and motions; yet, either despising his strength or discrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or at least have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy, meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigor, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition: neither Montcalm’s promises or threats could prevail on them to

surrender while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from general Webb: they even persisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to surrender: colonel Monro was sensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that general Webb, though slow in his motions, would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison: at length, necessity obliged him, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander: hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties: it was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William Henry, and the troops in the intrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war, escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the savages; that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most christian king immediately after signing the capitulation, and the intrenched camp on the departure of the British forces; that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of soldiers and officers, should, on honor, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores and other particulars specified; that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the intrenchment and dependences, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most christian majesty or his allies; that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery-men, commissaries, and all employed; that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North-America, should be delivered in the space of three months at Carillon, in return for whom an equal number of the garrison of Fort William Henry should be capacitated to serve agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered; that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty; that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to

be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm, who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered; that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops; that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six-pounder. Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really assiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broken in almost every instance: the savages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part: they fell on the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, and assassinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity: some British soldiers, with their wives and children, are said to have been savagely murdered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain: the greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under the protection of the French escort: the enemy demolished the fort; carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake; and departed, without pursuing their success by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of 20,000 regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and disgrace of the British name.

20. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate: immediately on lord Loudoun's departure from Halifax, admiral Houlbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisburg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship: what the object of this cruise might have been can only be conjectured: some imagine curiosity was the admiral's sole motive, and

the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others persuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal: be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisburg on the twentieth of August; and, approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor: Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength; and it is obvious that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halifax: about the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisburg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies: here the English squadron continued cruising until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the southward: when the hurricane began, the fleet were about forty leagues distant from Louisburg; but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted: the ship *Tilbury* was wrecked on the rocks, and half her crew drowned: eleven ships were dismasted; others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England at a very unfavorable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisburg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding designs on Rochefort; less disgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies: indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the instability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils were strongly manifested by that languor infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits: faction in the mother-country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies: no ambition to signalise themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their services were to be rewarded or condemned: their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general; and destroyed that spirit of enterprise, that firmness and resolution, which constitutes the commander; and without which, the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

21. The French king not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their settlements in Africa, which he sent one of his naval commanders with a small squadron to reduce: this gentleman, whose name was Kersin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships; but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Cape Coast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kersin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape Coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few Mulatto soldiers; his stock of ammunition was reduced to half a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were so crazy and inconsiderable, that in the opinion of the best engineers they could not have sustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained: in these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other sentiments, and acquitted himself with equal courage and discretion: he forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a reinforcement of about fifty men, from certain trading vessels that happened to be on that part of the coast: he mounted some spare cannon on an occasional battery; and, assembling a body of 1200 negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. These precautions were hardly taken, when the French squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, appeared, and in a little time their attack began; but they met with such a warm reception, that in less than two hours they desisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made sail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina in the same neighborhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publicly in favor of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial eagerness and impatience: M. de Kersin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this attempt; but he is said to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape Coast Castle by the vi-

gorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of losing a mast in the engagement;—a loss, which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape Coast been reduced on this occasion, in all probability every petty republic of the negroes, settled under the protection of the forts on Gold Coast, would have revolted from the British interest; for while the French squadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Annamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape Coast, John Corrantee, the caboceiro, chief magistrate and general of the blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted son had a few years before been caressed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprise of the French would be attended with success, actually sent some of his dependents with a present of refreshments for their commodore, the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threatened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust: the caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his design, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kersin on his victory at Cape Coast, and with this view prepared an embassy or deputation to go there by land; but understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design without the least hesitation, and despatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell, whom he congratulated on his victory, assuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summons to his assistance.

22. In the East-Indies the scene was changed greatly to the honor and advantage of Great Britain: there the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit, and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the credit of their king and the interest of their country. We left admiral Watson and colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted on their countrymen the preceding year: on the twenty-eighth of December, the fleet proceeded up the river; next day colonel Clive landed, and, with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty-four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a place of great strength, though very ill defended: on the first of January, the admiral, with two ships, appeared before the town of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries: this salute was returned so warmly, that the enemy's guns were soon

silenced, and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned: colonel Clive, on the other side, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigor and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the settlement: as soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requisite for sustaining an obstinate siege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen killed and three soldiers: a few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob; as here his storehouses of salt and vast granaries for the support of his army were burnt and destroyed: incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and assembled an army of 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained: he was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town: colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and 600 men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to assist his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of 1000 men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, 500 horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants: though this advantage was less decisive than could be wished, yet it sufficiently intimidated the nabob into concessions much to the honor and advantage of the company: admiral Watson gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked, could perform: the suba desired the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded: he promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm, and granted by the

mogul; that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass, in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty; that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining; that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid; that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption; that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province; that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavors to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them: all which several articles were solemnly signed and sealed with the nabob's own hand.

23. Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirit and gallant conduct of the two English commanders: they had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broken former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commissary at the court of the suba, to whom he was personally known, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had acquired a considerable influence: nothing less could have balanced the interest which the French, by their art of intriguing, had raised among the favorites of the viceroy. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking those intrigues and keeping the suba steady to his engagements, the admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking the French settlements in Bengal: the chief object of their designs was the reduction of Chandernagore, situated higher up the river than Calcutta, of considerable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation in the bay: colonel Clive, being reinforced by 300 men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernagore, at the head of 700 Europeans and 1600 Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the outposts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he

left to be silenced by the admiral: on the eighteenth of March the admirals Watson and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French settlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Salisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel: these difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had raised: their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission: a flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place surrendered by capitulation: the keys were delivered to captain Latham, of the Tiger; and in the afternoon colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by 500 Europeans and 1200 Indians, defended by 123 pieces of cannon and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors: by the treaty of capitulation, the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel; the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full possession of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war: the goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

24. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with foresight and unanimity, and executed with that vigor and spirit which deservedly raised them in the high esteem of their country: they reduced the nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarmed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered on measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed: however specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which in effect was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded: the company's goods were loaded with

high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed on such frivolous pretences, as evidently demonstrated that he sought to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were ripe for execution: in a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by such a body of their European troops under M. de Bussy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvassed with all the circumspection and caution that a measure required, on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal: Mr. Watts from time to time sent them intelligence of every transaction in the suba's cabinet; and although that prince publicly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops should be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely sacrificed his own safety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigor in their military operations. During these deliberations a most fortunate incident occurred, that soon determined the council to come to an open rupture: the leading persons in the viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his haughtiness and insolence: the same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army; they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled or the nabob deposed: in consequence, a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province: the project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and so improved by the address of that gentleman, as in a manner to ensure success: a treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company, and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malcontents for their defection from the viceroy: these previous measures being taken, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army: admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore; and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery: then Mr. Watts, de-

ceiving the suba's spies, by whom he was surrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Cutwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river forming the island of Cassimbuzar: this place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan: disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence, he crossed the river, and marched to Plaissey, where he encamped: on the twenty-third, at daybreak, the suba advanced to attack him, at the head of 15,000 horse and near 30,000 infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependence: they began to cannonade the English camp about six in the morning; but a severe shower falling at noon, they withdrew their artillery: colonel Clive seized this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavored to retake: then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with a double breastwork, together with an eminence which they occupied: at the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being slain, the men were so dispirited that they soon gave way; but still Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, who commanded the left wing, forbore declaring himself openly: after a short contest, the enemy were put to flight; the nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken; and a most complete victory obtained: the colonel, pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the malcontents: it was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of nabob; accordingly, the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose Surajah Dowlat, and with the same ceremony to substitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as suba, or viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixia. Soon after, the late viceroy was taken, and put to death by his successor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elevation: he conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company such extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated how justly he merited their assistance: by this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were intirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependences; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond

their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their losses; the soldiers and seamen were gratified with £600,000, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate: in a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected; and the government of a vast country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience: but the public joy at these signal successes was considerably diminished by the death of admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast: the admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate on the sixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were surrendered to the French, a few days after colonel Clive had defeated the nabob.

25. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good-natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war: contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition: of all men on earth, such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person and cabals among his subjects; yet was an attempt made on his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had resolution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm sufficient to sustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render necessary: the name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras: he had lived in the service of several families, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition: so humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and by one desperate effort draw on himself the attention of all

Europe. On the fifth of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs: his majesty, applying his hand immediately to his side, cried out, 'I am wounded! seize him, but do not hurt him.' Happily the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts: as for the assassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative: a process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles; many persons, supposed accessaries to the design on the king's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt on his sovereign: incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured: every refinement on cruelty that human invention could suggest was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption that he must have had accomplices in the plot: to render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment: being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains: the torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could support: nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province (and we consider it as a felicity) to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event: sufficient it is, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination and shameful to humanity: on the twenty-eighth of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by

iron gyves : one of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur ; his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red-hot pincers ; boiling oil, melted lead, resin, and sulphur were poured into the wounds ; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for dismemberment ; young and vigorous horses applied to the draught, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extention of his sinews, for the space of an hour ; during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy : at length, the physician and surgeon attending declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment unless the tendons were separated ; on which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs : the horses drew afresh ; a thigh and an arm were separated ; and after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain : his body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold ; his father, wife, daughter, and family banished the kingdom for ever ; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated ; and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favorable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation : it appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity and a disturbed imagination : several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct ; and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befall human nature.

26. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machoult, keeper of the seals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine ; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war : their dismissal was sudden and unexpected, nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpected alteration. The French king, to show the queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the house of Bourbon, raised two great armies ; the first of which, composed of near 80,000 men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation, under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character : this formidable army passed the Rhine

early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the empress-queen, and guardians of the liberties of the empire: but their real view was to invade Hanover; a scheme, which they knew would make a powerful diversion of the British force from the prosecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the strength of France could not be fully exerted, and where their most valuable interests were at stake: they flattered themselves, moreover, that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America: the other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the imperial army of execution, consisting of 25,000 men, besides 6000 Bavarians and 4000 Wirtembergers: but before these troops, under Soubise, passed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the king of Prussia on the borders of the Low Countries;¹ whilst a detachment from d'Etrées' army seized on the town of Emden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

27. At the close of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the imperialists under the command of marshal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the season should permit him to improve these advantages: his majesty and marshal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and marshal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz: in the mean time, the empress-queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the king of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his designs, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish: in consequence of these requisitions, the czarina, true to her engagements, despatched above 100,000 of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with design

¹ The king of Prussia had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without suspicion of having purposely left this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into Germany might hasten the resolutions of the British ministry.

particularly to invade Ducal Prussia; whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic, to aid the operations of this numerous army. The Austrian army assembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of 80,000 men, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown: the Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to join the general confederacy: the duke of Mecklenburg took the same party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with 6000 men: besides all these preparations against the king of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the ban of the empire by the Aulic council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingences for putting this sentence in execution.

28. In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity: the Russians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to subsist their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march, depending on the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival in that country: these provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward: the king of Prussia had, with great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. Notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to re-enforce the garrison of

that place: he visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necessary orders for their security: he repaired to Neiss, where he settled with marshal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign: there it was agreed, that the marshal's army in Silesia, which consisted of 50,000 men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated; that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require: at the same time, other armies were assembled by the king of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; 20,000 men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and 60,000 chosen troops began their march towards Great Seidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled: in the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution: all possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a defeat: as only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality: all correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honor, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards released: the countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime-minister, was also arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and resolving to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony: M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying that his master had commanded him to stay, he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey: the count de Wackerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number

of waggons, each drawn by four horses: the circles of Misnia and Leipsic were enjoined to furnish 400 each, and the other circles in proportion.

29. While the king of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia between his troops and the Austrians: on the twentieth of February, a body of 6000 Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfield, in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot: the first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces; and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon: in their retreat they were pursued by the Prussians, who fell on their rear, killed some, and took many prisoners: this affair cost the Austrians at least 500 men: about a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near 9000 men, in order to destroy the remaining strongholds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers: in this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, consisting of 9000 sacks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master of Reichenburg, he returned to Zittau: the van of his troops, consisting of 150 hussars of the regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of 600 Croats, sustained by 200 Austrian dragoons of Bathiania, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell on them sword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners: the Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

30. Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great Britain, still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this crown; for an edict was published at Florence on the thirteenth of February, wherein his imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs: all the ports in that duchy were accordingly enjoined to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean: the good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraro, the captains of two

French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alleging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea; but the governor prudently replied, that as they came in under English colors he would protect them; and forbad the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence: they, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes: the captain, firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the sentinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he in consequence ordered the two privateers immediately to depart. The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited: whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to harass his defenceless territories in the neighborhood of the Low Countries: a free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their high mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

31. Scarcely had the French army, commanded by the prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologne, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them; the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburg, who were sent to facilitate their retreat: the distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partisan Fischer, whose cruelties the last war they still remembered with horror, was again let loose on them by the inhumanity of the empress-queen: Wesel was immediately occupied by the French; Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was besieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country under water: those who retreated, filing

off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritburg, the property of count Caunitz Ritburg, great chancellor to the empress-queen : after taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district to the amount of 40,000 crowns : as the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the empress-queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under prince Soubise, was appointed at Neuss, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was assembled by the first of April : the Austrians, in their turn, were not idle : marshal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Konigsgratz ; reviewed the army of the late prince Piccolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni ; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

32. During the recess of the armies, while the rigors of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigor, count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Russia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republic of Poland, setting forth, that the empress of Russia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's distress, which she thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies ; that the fatal consequences which might result from the rash step taken by the king of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighboring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause ; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia, as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbor ; that with this view, the empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually on their march,² under the command of general Apraxin ; and that, as there would

² This letter was written in December ; and the Russians, as we observed before, began their march in November.

be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible: she farther recommended to the republic, to take some salutary measures for frustrating the designs of the king of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes: in this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that though sure of being sacrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side as to fear from that of the other: some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power: with this cause of contention, others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czartorinski and count Mnisnec: almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed; many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

33. In the mean time, Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honorable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the empress-queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was that whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the king of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his security on the faith of treaties and the appearance of harmony between them. On the receipt of this answer, the court of London made several proposals to the czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment: when Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambas-

sador, continued to urge his solicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the empress, purporting, that her imperial majesty was astonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin : he might easily conceive, as matters were then situated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her imperial majesty, as it showed but little regard to her former declaration : the empress therefore commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to ; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the king of Prussia himself would soon attack the Russian army, such threats served only to weaken the ambassador's proposals ; to confirm still more, were it possible, the empress in her resolutions ; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the king of Prussia more blamable.

34. The season now drawing on in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Russians being happily stopped, his Prussian majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the seat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all sides : to this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Misnia, Lusatia, and Silesia to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite places nearly at the same time : the first of these he commanded in person, assisted by marshal Keith ; the second was led by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau ; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern ; and the fourth by marshal Schwerin : in consequence of this plan, marshal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places : the design was so well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Guelder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage ; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them : the prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without

any resistance : the prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krouttau and Grassenstein, without the loss of a single man ; drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenburg : the same morning Putkammer's hussars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed some hundreds of the enemy's cuirassiers, posted before Kolin, under the conduct of prince Lichtenstein, took three officers, and upwards of sixty horse prisoners ; and so dispersed the rest, that they were scarcely able to rally near Kratzen : night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, amounting to 28,000 men, commanded by count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenburg : as soon as the troops were formed, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons : the two wings were sustained by the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and intrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with resolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had intrenched themselves : but the prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia ; his dragoons, who by clearing the ground and possessing the intrenchment had their flanks covered, intirely routed the enemy's cavalry : in the mean time, colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception ; whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenburg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit : the action began at half an hour after six, and continued till eleven :

about 1000 of the Austrians were killed and wounded; among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfeld: twenty of their officers and 400 soldiers were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards: on the side of the Prussians, seven subalterns and about 100 men were killed, and sixteen officers and 150 men wounded. After this battle, marshal Schwerin joined the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged: the prince Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army; then the latter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired to Westwarn, half-way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian majesty having passed the Egra, his army and that of marshal Schwerin were so situated, as to be able to act jointly.

35. These advantages were but a prelude to a much more decisive victory, which the king himself gained a few days after: preparing to enter Bohemia at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had intended to march towards Egra: the enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design distinct from the object of other armies, detached a body of 20,000 men to observe his motions; then he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which having been reinforced by the army of Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the duke of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near 100,000 men: they were strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable: the left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was guarded by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: prince Charles of Lorrain and marshal Brown, who commanded them, seemed determined to maintain this advantageous post; but the king of Prussia overlooked all difficulties: having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, he passed that river in the morning of the sixth with 30,000 men, leaving the rest of the army under

the command of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau; and being immediately joined by the troops under marshal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, resolved to attack the enemy on the same day: in consequence of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz, and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right to avoid being flanked: the Prussians continued their march to Bichwitz, traversing several defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army: the foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves: while the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, marshal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation: in this emergency, he immediately dismounted; and, taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, 'Let all brave Prussians follow me:' inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward; and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardor abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell marshal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory; an officer, whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service: in the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themselves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and intirely broke it; while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed: the left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar: meanwhile the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries; but the behavior of the infantry in the last attack was so successful as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act: prince Henry of Prussia and the prince of Bevern signalised themselves on this occasion in storming two batteries; prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank; while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw: in short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many signal examples of valor on both sides, the Austrians were forced to

abandon the field of battle, leaving behind sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell on the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of 10,000 or 12,000 men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse: the infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown; but they were much harassed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under marshal Keith. The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of 4000 prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank: their loss amounted to about 2500 killed, and about 3000 wounded: among the former were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant-colonel Boke; among the latter, generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blakensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the side of the Austrians was much greater: among these last was marshal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he suffered rather than from its own nature, proved mortal: the day after the battle, colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours and 400 hussars to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this service he performed: he also completed the destruction of several others of less importance; by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subsistence was cut off from any succors the Austrians might have expected from the empire.

36. The Prussians, following their blow, immediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the king commanding on one side and marshal Keith on the other: in four days the whole city was surrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was intirely cut off: prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and several other persons of great distinction, were shut up within the walls, together with above 20,000 of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat: every thing continued quiet on both sides, scarce a cannon-shot being fired by either for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean time, the Prussians made themselves masters of Cziscaburg, an emi-

nence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works: already they had made a Sally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was necessary: accordingly, a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of 12,000 men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry: in case an impression could be made on the king's lines, it was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison and hasten the surrender of the place: happily a deserter gave the prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's design about eleven o'clock at night: proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This design was conducted with so much silence, that though the Prussians were warned of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts: their attack was begun on the side of the little town, against marshal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw: from hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to destroy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prussians threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branig and Podbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly on the miners; but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before: at the report of the first piece which they fired, the picquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of 100 men, who marched out of the camp to sustain the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion from the darkness of the night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own: lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceived the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of falling on them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander: the enemy fled with the greater precipitation,

as they were ignorant of the weakness of the picquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body: many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the same time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell on a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the assault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely: during this attack the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musketry on the whole front of the Prussians from the convent of St. Margaret to the river: at three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp to engage the enemy: the battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the red-house, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellas-towitz: the Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired on them incessantly from all the doors and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire both of cannon and musketry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the red-house, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire on it from the moment it was known to be in their hands: the Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners: prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

37. The Prussian works being completed and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw began to play with great fury: near 300 bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours: the scene was lamentable; houses, men, and horses wrapped in flames and reduced to ashes: the confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction on this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity: no regard was paid

to the distress of the inhabitants; the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians practised every stratagem, every barbarous refinement, that constitutes the military art, to oblige them to capitulate: after the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he was deaf to the voice of pity; and, instead of being moved with their supplications, drove out 12,000 persons, the least useful in defending the city: these, by order of his Prussian majesty, were again forced back, which soon produced so great a scarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food sold at fourpence a pound to the inhabitants: however, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity: two vigorous and well-conducted sallies were made, but they proved unsuccessful: the only advantage resulting from them, was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Prussian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

38. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the empress-queen were in the most critical and desperate situation: her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subsistence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege; and the imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible; and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the

Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace, and turn the fortune of the war: this general, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favorite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire: born of a noble family, he relied solely on his own merit, without soliciting court-favor; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth: his progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent; his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause: cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigor of that monarch by prudent foresight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Boemischbrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon drew together a force so considerable as to attract the notice of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable: Daun was too prudent to give battle, with dispirited troops, to an army flushed with victory: he retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, where he intrenched himself strongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in expectation of being soon relieved: here he kept close within his camp; divided the Prussian force, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs; weakened his efforts against Prague, harassed the enemy by cutting off their convoys, and restored by degrees the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops: perfectly acquainted with the ardor and discipline of the Prussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure to produce them: thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action, until the Prussian vigor should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant

alarms, and until the impression made on his own men by the late defeat should in some degree be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct: his army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the siege: when that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by consuming all the provision, oblige it to surrender in a few days; but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough, not only to cope with the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to 60,000 men, were deeply intrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts; every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills secured by difficult defiles: yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding 32,000 men.

39. On the thirteenth of June the king of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz: marshal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege intirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to quit his posts: from either measure an advantage would have resulted: with his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat: had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle on terms nearly equal: but the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valor, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, and thinking that all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already

surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the marshal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success. By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight; and his majesty found that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the king's departure from Prague: he found the Austrians drawn up in three lines on the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist: difficult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured like hail from the enemy's batteries; and began the attack about three in the afternoon: they drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double ardor to the charge, but were a second time repulsed: seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, though always with the same fortune: the inferiority of the Prussian infantry; the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act; the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valor, and oblige them to retreat: the king then made a last and furious effort, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing, but with as little success as all the former attacks: every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes: at last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle; retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage. Almost all the officers on either side distinguished themselves; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him: the losses of both armies were very considerable; on that of the Prussians, the killed and wounded amounted to 8000; less

pernicious, however, to his majesty's cause than the frequent desertions and other innumerable ill consequences that ensued.

40. When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took horse, and, escorted by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback: immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; these were executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck and the army on their march before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat. Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the acknowledged errors of his Prussian majesty were in some measure atoned by the candor with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the earl-marshal,³ and in conversation with several of his general officers: most people indeed imagined the king highly blamable for checking the ardor of his troops to stop and lay siege to Prague: they thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary

³ 'The imperial grenadiers,' says he, 'are an admirable corps; 100 companies defended a rising ground, which my best infantry could not carry: Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned seven times to the charge, but to no purpose: at first he mastered a battery, but could not hold it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-served artillery: it did honor to Lichtenstein, who had the direction: only the Prussian army can dispute it with him: my infantry were too few: all my cavalry were present, and idle spectators, excepting a bold push by my household troops, and some dragoons: Ferdinand attacked without powder; the enemy, in return, were not sparing of theirs: they had the advantage of a rising ground, of intrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery: several of my regiments were repulsed by their musketry: Henry performed wonders: I tremble for my worthy brothers; they are too brave: Fortune turned her back on me this day: I ought to have expected it; she is a female, and I am no gallant: in fact, I ought to have had more infantry: success, my dear lord, often occasions destructive confidence: twenty-four battalions were not sufficient to dislodge 60,000 men from an advantageous post: another time we will do better. —What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and 100,000 French auxiliaries: I know not whether it would be disgrace in me to submit, but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me.'

dominions, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succors: a body of 20,000 or 30,000 men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have obliged the imperial family to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented count Daun from assembling another army: it was universally expected he would have bent his march straight to this capital; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to complete the conquest of Bohemia. The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern, and marshal Keith retreated next day: count Brown having died before of the wounds he received on the sixth of May, prince Charles of Lorraine sallied out with a large body of Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no farther mischief than killing about 200 of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, count Daun, with inexpressible joy; and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take refuge in Saxony: the Austrians harassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any decisive attempt on him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

41. Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the transactions which distinguished the campaign in Westphalia. To guard against the storm which menaced Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England; to augment each company; to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that country with all things necessary for 50,000 men: of these 26,000 were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, 12,000 Hessians, 6000 Brunswickers, 2000 Saxe-Gothans, and 1000 Luneburgers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, the whole commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. The king of England, having published a manifesto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives for taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confederated states that were to compose the allied army, under the name

of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt: thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to settle the plan of operations with their commander, the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons: of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant-general baron de Sporcken; six battalions, under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battalions and four squadrons, under major-general Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg in the neighborhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Hauss, near Nienburg: the head-quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

42. In the mean time, the French on the Lower Rhine continued filing off incessantly: the siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians, having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off several waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the elector of Cologne: on the other hand, colonel Fischer, having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Mecklenburg, routed them, and made some prisoners: after several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the position of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who declining to attack him on the side of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his situation several days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser: this step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of troops, followed by a second, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and, at the same time, major-general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers and a regiment of horse to reinforce that post: count Schulenburg covered the left of the march with a bat-

talion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburg: the whole army marched in two columns: the right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town. The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by major-general Einsiedel, very briskly, and at first put them into some confusion; but they immediately recovered themselves: this was in the beginning of the night: at break of day, the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed; nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops and a new-raised corps of hunters.

43. The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it to surrender; but they retired without attempting any thing farther: in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser, on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuysen: a body of troops, which had been left at Bielefeldt to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighborhood of Herfort; and a few days after, his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition: at the same time, some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes: there the army under his royal highness reassembled, and the French fixed their headquarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, leaving in it only a part of a magazine, which had been set on fire: by this time the French were in such want of forage, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses: however, on the tenth of June, their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the convenience of forage, was

put in motion: in spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length surmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigorously opposed by the army of the allies; but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought advisable to act only on the defensive, and not to begin the attack in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war, or the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine: however that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related: marshal d'Etrées, being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered lieutenant-general Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with sixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and 600 hussars, to march to Hervorden; and lieutenant-general, marquis d'Armentières, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen: all these troops, being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth: on the sixth, twenty-two battalions and thirty-two squadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence the marquis d'Armentières had set out early in the morning, with the troops under his command; and by hasty marches got on the seventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensburg: the bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the intrenchments at the head of the bridges completed in the night between the seventh and eighth: the marshal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket: on advice that d'Armentières had thrown his bridges across without opposition, and was at work on his intrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and intrenchments; and afterwards advanced

to examine the first position he intended for this army, and came down to the right side of the Weser, to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood and their attendants: on the tenth, in the morning, he got on horseback by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of d'Armentières, which arrived at eleven, and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon: the marshal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year 1673, and where the divisions under Broglie and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth: these two generals, being informed of what was to be done on the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Emden, the only sea-port the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence; but the inhabitants were not agreed on the methods to be taken for that purpose: they therefore met to deliberate; but in the mean time, their gates being shut, d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of 400 Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers; whereon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality: the inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

44. On Sunday, the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when major-general Furstenburg, who commanded the outposts in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of their approach: his royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general

Sporcken ; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford : the French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenburg, but they failed in both ; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had assembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no room to doubt of his intending to attack him : he therefore resolved to change his camp for a more advantageous situation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had a battery of twelve pounders and howitzers : there was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right : major-general Schulenburg, with the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood on the left of the battery : his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared in his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it ; and the ways, by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment, to be rendered impassable : in the evening he withdrew all his outposts, and in this position the army lay on their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth, in the morning, the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, marching and countermarching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre : in the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies : the army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms : his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired ; count Schulenburg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers and two field pieces of cannon ; and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers under the command of major-general Harden-

burg: he likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve six-pounders, behind the village of Hastenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was daylight, he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before: at a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution: between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted: the cannonading continued above six hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness: the fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge: at length, the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it advisable to retire nearer the left of the army; a motion, which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition: here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbottle guards and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed with their bayonets a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery: but the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, nearly double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison; then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoya; in the neighborhood of which town,

after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon; repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroying the rest: the loss of the allies in all the skirmishes, which lasted three days, was 327 men killed, 907 wounded, and 220 missing or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to 1500 men.

45. The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified; obliged the garrison to capitulate; and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it; together with a great many sick and wounded, who not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the marshal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the counsels of his favorite, the marquise de Pompadour, who, desirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his shattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her own already immense treasures, we shall not pretend to determine; though the event seems plainly to speak the last: even at the time, no comparison was made between the military skill of the marshal d'Etrées and that of the duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a soldier, excelled all, or at least most of his contemporaries, in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to supersede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the sixth of August, with the title of marshal of France; and M. d'Etrées immediately resigned the command.

46. Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the French

sent a detachment of 4000 men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chevreuse was detached with 2000 men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city: he accordingly marched thither; and on his arrival, the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased: about the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition: he was met at Warburg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the succors the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city: Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentières to prepare for him, within a limited time, on pain of military execution, 4000 pounds of white bread, 2000 bushels of oats, (a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country) 100 loads of hay, and other provisions.

47. The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighborhood of Hoya till the twenty-fourth of August, when, on advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left: he encamped that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersburg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersburg and Rothenburg: the French took possession of Verden on the twenty-sixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them: the duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavoring to effect by seizing on all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his headquarters were on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the same month, to retire under the cannon

of Stade: here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign: accordingly, his royal highness, on taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost; but as it could not possibly have held out many days; and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all sides, by making themselves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, so that four English men of war, then in that river, could have been of no service to him; he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven,⁴ by which

⁴ This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after, concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:—

‘ His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof; hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France’s forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honor to the count de Lynar to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master’s intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

‘ I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible: orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

‘ II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe Buckeburg, shall be sent home; and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to the respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and their passports to be granted them

38,000 Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

by his excellency the duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed on between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

‘ III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: that the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between 4000 and 6000 men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility; nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops: in consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree on the limits to be fixed round that place, for the convenience of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries: the rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating between the two courts for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

‘ IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz and the neighborhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight and forty hours: the French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated: it shall besides keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissaries shall be nominated, and sent on the tenth instant to Bremen-warden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland and his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to the third article.

‘ V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark’s guarantee, which the count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

‘ Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

(Signed) ‘ WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

‘ On the representation made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added :—

‘ I. It is the intention of his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries according to the form mentioned in the second article ; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

‘ II. It having been represented that the country of Luneburg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of 6000 men allotted to it, his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish majesty, gives his consent ; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe ; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste ; provided always, that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case ; and this clause is particularly guarantied by the count de Lynar, in the name of his Danish majesty.

‘ III. On the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight and forty hours, agreeable to the convention ; his excellency the marshal duke de Richelieu has signified that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremen-warden, begin their march to retire in four and twenty hours after signing the convention : the time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcken, and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king’s army.

‘ Done, &c.’

CHAP. XXVIII.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1757.

1. The French enter the Prussian dominions, where they commit great disorders—2. Reflections on the misconduct of the allied army—3. Russian fleet blocks up the Prussian ports in the Baltic—4. Russians take Memel—5. Declaration of the king of Prussia on that occasion—6. Army of the empire raised with difficulty—7. The Austrians take Gabel,—8. and destroy Zittau—9. The prince of Prussia leaves the army—10. Communication between England and Ostend broken off. Gueldres capitulates—11. Skirmishes between the Prussians and Russians—12. Marshal Lehwald attacks the Russians in their intrenchments near Norkitten—13. Hasty retreat of the Russians out of Prussia—14. French and imperialists take Gotha—15. Action between the Prussians and Austrians near Goerlitz—16. The French oblige prince Ferdinand to retire—17. Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians, and Leipsic subjected to military execution by the Prussians—18. Battle of Rosbach—19. The Austrians take Schweidnitz, and defeat the prince of Bevern near Breslau—20. Marshal Keith lays Bohemia under contribution. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Lissa, retakes Breslau and Schweidnitz, and becomes master of all Silesia—21. Hostilities of the Swedes in Pomerania—22. Marshal Lehwald forces the Swedes to retire—23. Memorial presented to the Dutch by colonel Yorke relative to Ostend and Nieuport—24. King of Prussia's letter to the king of Great Britain. His Britannic majesty's declaration—25. Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven—26. Progress of the Hanoverian army—27. Death of the queen of Poland. Transactions at sea—28. Fate of captain Death—29. Session opened—30. Supplies granted—31. Funds for raising the supplies—32. Message from the king to the house of commons—33. Second treaty with the king of Prussia—34. Bill for fortifying Milford-haven. Regulations with respect to corn—35. Bills for the encouragement of seamen, and for explaining the militia-act—36. Act for repairing London-bridge—37. Act for ascertaining the qualifications of voting—38. Bill for more effectually manning the navy—39. Amendments in the habeas-corpus act—40. Scheme in favor of the Foundling-hospital—41. Proceedings relative to the African company—42. Session closed—43. Vigorous preparations for war. Death of the princess Caroline—44. Sea engagement off Cape Francois. Remarkable success of captain Forrest—45. French evacuate Emden. Success of admiral Osborne. French fleet driven ashore in Basque-road—46. Admiral Broderick's

ship burnt at sea—47. Descent at Cancalle-bay—48. Expedition against Cherbourg—49. Descent at St. Maloes—50. English defeated at St. Cas—51. Captures from the enemy—52. Clamors of the Dutch merchants on account of the capture of their ships—53. Their famous petition to the States-General.

1. THE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, and the whole force of the French let loose against the king of Prussia by this treaty, marshal Richelieu immediately ordered lieutenant-general Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under his command, to join the prince de Soubise; the gens d'armes, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were directed to attack the Prussian territories: marshal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, assembled 110 battalions and 150 squadrons, with 100 pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbottle, he entered the king of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have connived: in the mean time, the duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

2. Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might easily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfenbottle, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring successively from Hamelen to Nienburg, Verden, Rothenburg, Buxtehude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of subsistence and elbow-room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large: they made a march of 150 miles to be cooped up in a nook, instead of taking the other route, which was only about 100 miles, and would have led them to a place of safety: by this unaccountable conduct, the king of Prussia was not only deprived of the assistance of near 40,000 good troops, which in the close of the campaign might have put him on an equality with the French and the army of the empire; but

was also exposed to, and actually invaded by, his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which seemed to have threatened the empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself: his ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who had made for a long time a dilatory march, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Prussia under marshal Apraxin and general Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau; then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country: a second body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau: 22,000 Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia: an Austrian general, penetrating through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies; and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing, another gained on them in some other part: the winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily: their king, harassed, and almost spent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the empire: the greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies, who collected the public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover and other conquests, defrayed the expenses of the war; and by the con-

vention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any assistance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to supply. How different is this picture from that which the king of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian majesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and numerous distresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the several transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down to that which we are now speaking of.

3. Whilst the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, the empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, that if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes; and her fleet, consisting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandise from one port to another: one of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation the Russian captain replied, that, notwithstanding the dispositions of the empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would farther explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruise: on which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire on all Russian ships that should approach that place.

4. The land forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of six months; and it was pretty generally doubted by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were really designed to pass into the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants on the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though general Apraxin's army was

at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were in earnest determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussia: their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed that the garrison should march out with all the honors of war, after having engaged not to serve against the empress or any of her allies for the space of one year.

5. His Prussian majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war except on nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked on war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as theirs by right of conquest, published the following declaration:—‘It is sufficiently known, that the king of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method: his Prussian majesty has had the satisfaction to live for several successive years in the strictest harmony with the reigning empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broken it by their secret machinations, and carried things to such a height, that the ministers on both sides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court: he has been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he has to allege against it; and that it was publicly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favoring the schemes of Austria: his majesty has given the whole world incontestable proofs that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he has taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arms for his defence; yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king has offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him: his majesty has

not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia has been drawn into measures so opposite to the empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princess, if the truth could be placed before her without disguise: the king did more: he suggested to her imperial majesty sufficient means, either to excuse her not taking any part in the present war, or to avoid on the justest grounds the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views: it wholly depended on the empress of Russia to extinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the sword, by pursuing the measures suggested by the king: this conduct would have immortalised her reign throughout all Europe; it would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumphs. The king finds with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruitless, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed: his majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighborhood set aside by the imperial court of Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his majesty: he sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and, contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in his dominions; and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire: in such circumstances, the king has no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him, in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack: his majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilised nations; but if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia; if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the law of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated: as to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alleged by the imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression; and

as his majesty is forced on making his defence, he has room to hope with confidence that the Lord of Hosts will bless his righteous arms; that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies; and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them.'

6. When the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulic council, as we observed before, to furnish their respective contingents against him: those who feared him looked on this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria were through necessity compelled to support that power which they dreaded: besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had for a long time been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had ever seen: yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents both of men and money were collected slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the protestant princes, but also of the catholics, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the prince de Soubise. The elector-palatine lost above 1000 men by desertion: 4000 of the troops belonging to the duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud that they were sold: next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stuttgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general: they fired on the officers in their barracks, and let their general know that if he did not immediately withdraw they would put him to death: meanwhile, some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners; when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; on which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening: next morning the soldiers assembled, and having seized some of the officers, 300 or 400 of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner

near 3000 of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

7. The king of Prussia, on his leaving Bohemia after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leutmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched; whilst marshal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being kept open by means of a bridge: at the same time, detachments were ordered to secure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the king of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved by slow marches into the circle of Buntzlau; and, at last, with a detachment commanded by the duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell suddenly on and took the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Putkammer, consisting of four battalions, who were obliged to surrender prisoners of war. The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lusatia, on a corps which had been detached under the command of the prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leutmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leutmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession; while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place: next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and made so good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars: he passed the bridge at Leutmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town; and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year: the heavy baggage was sent on in the afternoon, with a proper escort; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lusechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third: no attack was made on the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars and other irregulars had

appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp : on the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf ; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta ; on the twenty-sixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day ; and on the twenty-eighth it crossed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped near Bautzen.

8. The king's army made this retreat with all the success that could be wished ; but the corps under the prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune ; for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, sent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines and a garrison of six battalions, and in his sight attacked it with uncommon rage : paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the king of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only 300 or 400 men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible ; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening : in this space of time 4000 balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city with so little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in several places : in the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing farther to fear, and that their friends the Austrians would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place ; but in this particular their expectations were disappointed : the Pandours and Slavonians, who rushed in with regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau ; instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which the fire had not reached ; so that all the valuable merchandise they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes : upwards of 600 houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedral of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison,

the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by the emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were intirely destroyed, and more than 400 citizens were killed in this assault: of the whole town there was left standing only 138 houses, two churches, the council, library, and the salt-work: the queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is said to have fainted away on hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the king of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct, ascribing it intirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison: but what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

9. The corps under the prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being surrounded by the Austrians, who, on his majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right: soon after this event, the prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign, quitted the army,⁵ and returned to Berlin: in the mean time, marshal Keith, who had been left on the frontier, to guard the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harassed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage: after resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzen and Goerlitz. The Prussian army, now re-assembled at this place, amounted to about 60,000 men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained

⁵ This was the reason that was publicly assigned for his quitting the army; but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the social virtues, disliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject; on which his majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, that the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp: the prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died soon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened with various success: though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin: the reason seems obvious:—the Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in such times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war; because the fidelity of such soldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who serve their natural sovereign from principle, and not merely for pay; and who must desert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the same time that they desert their prince.

10. It will be proper here to take notice of some events which could not easily be mentioned before, without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history. The empress-queen, more embittered than ever against the king of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, count Colorado and M. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succors it had given and still continued to give the king of Prussia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty the empress-queen had thought proper to recall her minister from England, and consequently to break off all correspondence: Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-ninth of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time: on the seventh of July, general Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice-consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broken off; and desired the vice-consul to intimate to the packet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and

Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen till farther disposition should be made: the reasons alleged by the court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, 'that her imperial majesty, the empress-queen, could not with indifference see England, instead of giving the succors due to her by the most solemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of assistance, assembling armies to oppose those which the most christian king, her ally, had sent to her aid, and suffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the king of Great Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing, by a message to his parliament, that she had formed with the most christian king dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore, her majesty, desirous of providing for the security of her ports, judged it expedient to give the fore-mentioned orders; and at the same time to declare, that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded on treaties that Great Britain had without scruple openly violated.' Notwithstanding these orders, the English packet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Ostend, the ministers of her imperial majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings in to the post-office of the Austrian Netherlands: Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her imperial majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, on whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the empress-queen still reserved to herself in both of them the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries: at the same time, their imperial and most christian majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburg, that they must not admit any English men of war or transports into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked

up by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honors of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin; but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant and forty-seven men: by the surrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburg; and the empress-queen immediately received 200,000 crowns from the revenues of Cleves and La Marcke alone.

11. To return to the affairs more immediately relating to the king of Prussia: the advanced posts of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna were attacked, on the tenth of August, by a body of hussars and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon: on the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprise: the Pandours attacked it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Prussians having rallied, repulsed the assailants with great loss: these, however, were but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions, which happened soon after. Silesia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war: baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only a handful of men, made himself master of Hirschburg, Waldenburg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut: they were, indeed, but open places; and he was repulsed in an attempt on Strigau. On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with all speed, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to join the imperialists: the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau: the Swedes were now preparing with the utmost expedition to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who since the taking of Memel had not done the king of Prussia much damage besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Konigsburg, by their squadrons, were again advancing with

hasty strides towards Prussia, marking their steps with horrid desolation: field-marshal Lehwald, who had been left in Prussia with an army of 30,000 men, to guard that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of 80,000, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prussian king, whose situation now drew on him the attention of all Europe: in the night between the seventh and eighth of August, colonel Malachowsti, one of marshal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment three times stronger than the Prussians: the Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed and a great number wounded: the Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

12. Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburg Prussia, marshal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from so small a number as his was compared to that of the enemy, to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian cossacks and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary to attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August. The Russians, consisting, as we before observed, of 80,000 regulars, under the command of marshal Apraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a most advantageous camp near Norkitten in Prussia: their army was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an intrenchment; and the whole was defended by 200 pieces of cannon, batteries being placed on all the eminences: marshal Lehwald's army scarcely amounted to 30,000 men. The action began at five in the morning, and was carried on with so much vigor, that the Prussians intirely broke the whole first line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries: the prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Russian cavalry, and afterwards fell on a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians came to the second intrenchment, marshal Lehwald, seeing that he

could not attempt to carry it without exposing his army too much, took the resolution to retire: the Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in their present situation: the loss of the Prussians, little exceeding 2000 killed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia: the Russians lost a much greater number: general Lapuchin was wounded and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had at first made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but were afterwards obliged to abandon them, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages: three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

13. After this engagement, marshal Lehwald changed the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterswald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprise of every one, retreated out of Prussia with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of 15,000 or 16,000 men, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores: marshal Apraxin masked his design by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marshal Lehwald was not informed of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holstein with 10,000 horse to pursue them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be sooner in their own country: however, the Prussians took some of them prisoners, and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned; though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place: they made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed its course towards Memel; while the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura: both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to desist from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been destroyed by the violence of the stream: the Russian army suffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it passed; so that they could procure no sort of subsistence but herb-

age and rye-bread: all the roads were strewed with dead bodies of men and horses. The real cause of this sudden retreat is as great a mystery as the reason of stopping so long, the year before, on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the czarina, who was seized with a kind of apoplectic fit, and had made some new regulations in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand to support the measures taken by the government.

14. The king of Prussia, after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his headquarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in sight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon shot of it; on which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp: the king formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day: the two armies continued under arms all night. Next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisle; the rest of their army extended along a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front at the bottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and for no more than four or five men abreast: towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front; but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry; and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed 4000 foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that in reality this was the strongest part of their camp. The king left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel: they were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and Pandours, who, however, had not the satisfaction to take the smallest booty in this retreat: the Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, 130,000 strong, more than double the number of the king of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about 2000 yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and

remained so upwards of an hour; but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French, under the prince de Soubise, making together about 50,000 men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurt in Saxony; on which his Prussian majesty, finding that all his endeavors could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by marshal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the rest of the army in a strong camp under the prince of Bevern: with this detachment, which by the junction of several bodies of troops amounted to about 40,000 men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipsic, towards Erfurt, to give battle to the united army of the French and the empire: but by the time he arrived at Erfurt, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and, on his farther approach, they retired to Eyese-nach, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp: his majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurt. While the two armies were thus situated, major-general Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemy was coming towards him, and that it consisted of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance: the enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but general Seydelitz, having been reinforced, attacked the enemy with such vigor, that he soon obliged them to abandon this new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been spread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the king himself in person: the Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion, and general Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp, one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who had also about 130 killed. After this action his Prussian majesty advanced near Eyese-nach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly intrenched that he found it impracticable: his provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurt, and soon after to Naumburg, on the river Sala;

whereon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurt, and Weiman; which last place however they soon after quitted.

15. On the king of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been left there: the next day 15,000 Austrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfield's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennersdorff, in the neighborhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence: the loss in this action was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so much by the number of their slain, which scarcely exceeded that of the Austrians; as by the death of their brave general Winterfield, who, as he was leading up succors to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from a cannon, of which he died the night following: the generals Nadasti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhausen, and several other persons of distinction, were wounded; and the young count of Groesbeck and the marquis d'Asque killed on the side of the Austrians, who took six pair of their colors, and made general Kemeke, the count d'Anhalt, and some other officers prisoners; after this skirmish, the prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rothenburg, then passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntlau in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous army of the Austrians followed him for some days: on his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to the fortifications of which he immediately added several new works: though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austrians remained masters of the field; yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it: the death of general Winterfield was indeed an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

16. A body of the French, who, let loose against the king of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt

and Magdeburg, were worsted at Eglen by a party of 600 men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops, with which his Prussian majesty had sent him to defend those countries: the Prussians took prisoners the count de Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and 400 soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; and moreover a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstadt: on this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while; but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September with a considerable reinforcement from marshal Richelieu's army, which he now could easily spare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburg: the dangers, which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions by the surprising activity of their king, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all sides: marshal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and 100 squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, and levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army of the French and imperialists, being joined by 6000 men under general Laudohn, who had defeated a regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurt, marched to Weissenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia: the Swedes had actually taken some towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin; and the Austrians, who had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a considerable part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnitz, and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to attack the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau: in the mean time they made frequent and always destructive incursions into Brandenburg; to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the prince of Anhalt-Dessau from Leipsic, with a body of 10,000 men, to guard Berlin; whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburg and preserve the communication with Silesia.

17. While these precautions were taking, general Had-dick, with 15,000 or 16,000 Austrians, entered Brandenburg on the sixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of 600,000 crowns; but contented himself with 210,000: the Austrians

pillaged two of the suburbs ; but before they could do any farther mischief, they were obliged to retire in great haste at the approach of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city in the evening of their departure : this alarm, however, obliged the queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburg on the twenty-third ; and the most valuable records were sent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Spree. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipsic now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master : the Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of the king, demanded of them 300,000 crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise : this truth they represented, but in vain : the short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigors of military execution, in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the soldiery, who seized on the best apartments, and lived at discretion ; but the sum demanded could not be found : such was the situation of this distressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian majesty would soon be there ; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes afterwards, attended by his life-guards : at the same time, a rumor was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation : their fears, however, in that respect were soon abated by his majesty's declaring that he was willing to spare the place, on condition that half the sum required should be immediately paid : all that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others 50,000 crowns ; bills of exchange were drawn on Amsterdam and London for 70,000 crowns ; and hostages were given, by way of security, for the payment of 30,000 more within a time which was agreed on : but still, notwithstanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigor than before ; and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

18. The king of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the princes Saxe-Hildburghausen and Soubise to an engagement on fair ground ; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in

war, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory : he made a feint, soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to secure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving marshal Keith, with only 7000 or 8000 men to defend Leipsic : on this, the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the marshal to surrender ; to which he answered, that the king his master had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of besieging the city ; but before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of the king of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had by previous and private orders collected together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and was advancing by long marches to Leipsic, on notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was reassembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipsic the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen : on the thirtieth, the king drew nigh to that place ; and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Meresburg, he made 500 men prisoners of war : the combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Meresburg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges, but these were soon repaired ; and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than 20,000 men, having passed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over against the enemy, whose forces consisted of 40,000 French and 25,000 imperialists : on the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Prussians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion : they likewise heard the drums beating the march, and so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer on the rising grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right : no certain judgment could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real design ; and as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut ; but it was soon perceived that their several motions were contradictory to each other : at the same time that some of their infantry were filing off towards

their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the rising grounds, with which the whole Prussian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded within the reach of large cannon: soon after that the cavalry were seen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them; and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear: a body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall on their routed troops, in case they should be defeated; and to prevent their retiring to Meresburg, the only retreat which could then have been left them: in this situation the king of Prussia resolved to attack them. His majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, his majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being surrounded: all the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy: they then moved on immediately; the enemy's advanced to meet them; and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great resolution: the advantage, however, was intirely on the side of the Prussians: the enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit; but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell on them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat that they fled in the utmost disorder: this happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened: the enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution, but the Prussian artillery was not idle: after this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began: the enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valor of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to

their batteries: the batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position; and having soon met with a small rising ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery: the fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there; and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby: at five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides: they were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish them; and it may be said that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning: they took the benefit of the darkness to enter into Freyburg, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march. The king of Prussia set out early in the morning, to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns: the enemy had passed the Unstrut at Freyburg, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which however was soon done: the cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening on the hills of Eckersburg: it was then too late to force them there, for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taking near 300 baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians in this important engagement did not exceed 500 men killed and wounded: among the former was general Meincke, and among the latter prince Henry and general Seydelitz: the enemy lost sixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colors, near 3000 men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of 8000 taken prisoners, among whom were several generals and other officers of distinction: 300 waggons were sent to Leipsic, laden with wounded French and Swiss. On the approach of the Prussians towards Eckersburg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurt, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morsel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live on turnips, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the duke de

Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, on the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favor the retreat of their countrymen under the prince de Soubise, who with great precipitancy made the best of their way from Erfurt to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt: of the remains of the imperial army, which was now almost intirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the king of Prussia soon after this battle.

19. Whilst his Prussian majesty was thus successful against the French and imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground apace in Silesia: a detachment of their army, under the command of count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October: the Prussian garrison, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners 800 of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works; but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault: the garrison, however, having taken care during the siege to throw up a strong intrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they surrendered themselves prisoners of war: after the reduction of this place, general Nadasti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine and marshal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breslau on the left of the Oder; the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped with his little army, under the cannon of the city. The whole army of the Austrians being now re-assembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the king of Prussia's late victory near Leipsic, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, it was resolved immediately to attack the last in his intrenchments: accordingly, on the twenty-second of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders;

and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening: the Prussians with undaunted resolution stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and assailed on both sides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another: in this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals, fearing their intrenchments would be intirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat: the prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come to its relief; but on the twenty-fourth their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy with only a single groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prisoner:⁶ his army, thus deprived of their general, retreated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who the next day surrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the empress or her allies for two years: all the magazines, chests, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians: the garrison marched out with all military honors, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung *Te Deum* for this victory, they owned that such another would put an end to their army;

⁶ We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars; but some of the circumstances of this mysterious affair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the prince to be taken prisoner: it cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoitring the enemy with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judged it necessary to see things with his own eyes: some secret dissatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be ashamed, or, perhaps, even afraid, to see the king his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the defence of Breslau by quitting his lines, which it is asserted his Prussian majesty had sent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we shall find he kept his word.

for it cost them the lives of 12,000 men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle: they had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening; and the Prussians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion: among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were general Wurben and several other officers of distinction: the loss of the Prussians did not much exceed 3000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about 1600: their general Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

20. The king of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, stayed no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and imperialists, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed: then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silesia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumburg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached marshal Keith with the rest of his army to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; a service which he performed so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leutmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself: his majesty reserved for himself only 15,000 men, with whom he advanced with his usual rapidity to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by 24,000 more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their king on his march.⁷ With this force, though

⁷ Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach: animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose on the escort that guarded them, which happening not to be very strong, they intirely dispersed: thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen: the same fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the king himself, which was hastening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern: this unexpected meeting was equally

greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he resolved to attack the Austrians, who were intrenched at Lissa near Breslau : on the fourth of December he seized on their ovens at Neumarck, and on a considerable magazine, guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rising ground, where his majesty ordered his hussars to surround them, and send a trumpet to summon them to surrender themselves prisoners of war : on their refusal, the hussars of Ziethen fell on them sabre in hand ; and some hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees : after this seizure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Lissa : general Ziethen, who led the vanguard of light-horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty-second : they had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed ; for as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles from their intrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been vigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, general Ziethen perceived that their whole army was forming : he immediately acquainted the king with what he had discovered ; and his majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and despatch for which he had always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy : the two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed : in this attack the Prussians sustained the greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it ; then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously on

pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his majesty's march ; and, at the same time, this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence ; for the slightest occurrence is construed into an omen by an army at the eve of an engagement.

them with their own powder: from that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering his former success, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his royal antagonist: the Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's situation nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward: it was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious disposition which the king made overcame that disadvantage: when he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, designed to take him in flank: it happened as he had foreseen; this general's horse attacked the king's right wing with great fury; but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder: the enemy gave way on all sides; but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers and by the superiority of their numbers: every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigor, and with success equal to their bravery: towards night, the enemy still retreating fell into disorder; their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the king, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz: 6000 Austrians fell in this engagement; and the Prussians, who had only 500 men killed and 2300 wounded, made upwards of 10,000 of the enemy prisoners, among whom were 291 officers: they took also 116 cannon, fifty-one colors and standards, and 4000 waggons of ammunition and baggage. The consequences that followed this victory declared its importance: future ages will read with astonishment, that the same prince, who but a few months before seemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities,

without the assistance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harassed by long and painful marches and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one except himself thought past redress; but in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the empire at Rosbach on the fifth of November; and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the same army, was at Lissa, where he again triumphed over all the powers of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau; and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readiness to besiege it in form: his troops, flushed with success, were at first for storming it; but the king, knowing the strength of the garrison, which consisted of upwards of 13,000 men; and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form: his commands were obeyed, and Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning: the garrison, of which 10,000 bore arms, and between 3000 and 4000 lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war: fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank: the military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches: during the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb, which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, defended by a garrison so numerous, that it might be compared to a small army; and whilst that continued so, the king of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive effect: for this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the soldiers stood in need of repose, his majesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place before the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed as strictly as the rigor of the season would permit:⁸ it was not, however, till the beginning of the

⁸ Such was the rigor of the season, that some hundreds of the sentinels dropped down dead on their several posts, unable to

ensuing campaign that this place was taken: the Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April, 1758, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire on the town: the artillery of the besiegers consisted of 300 pieces of cannon of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as we have never heard of in former campaigns: on the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and lodged themselves therein: the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia, which the king of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed irretrievable, were now re-established on a firmer basis than ever: the Prussian parties not only repossessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian division; reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places; and left the empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion perfectly established.

21. The Swedes, after many debates between their king and senate, had at length resolved on an open declaration against the king of Prussia, and in consequence of that resolution sent so many troops into Pomerania, that by the end of August their army in that country amounted to 25,000 men: their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was levelled; but before they proceeded farther, general Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, setting forth, 'that the king of Sweden, as a guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Prussia; and that therefore all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country must pay what money they had in

sustain the severity of the cold. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard to the lives of their soldiers; and indeed this practice of winter campaigns in such a cold country bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish majesty; that, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should observe the strictest discipline.' After this declaration, they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, on the river Pene; and on the twenty-third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which consisted only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war: this alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years; observing, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honor, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was on his part so generous as to give him his liberty: on the other hand, general Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to 12,000 men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published in answer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the king of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation; and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

22. In the mean time, marshal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began their retreat, detached prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed with an additional reinforcement of 16,000 men: on his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbor of Swinemunde, by way of previous preparation for the siege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wollin, consisting of 210 men, who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonaded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes, having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate: as, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the siege in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to

retire with two pieces of cannon: the Prussians took possession of the town on the second of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took 150 prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition: marshal Lehwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomerania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen: at the same time, lieutenant-general Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast; the Swedes having abandoned the town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde: the prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde; and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place: the French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, besides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of 160,000 crowns in Swedish Pomerania: the Mecklenburgers, who had joined the Swedes with 6000 of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them with the most severe exactions: the army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by sickness, desertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it consisted of when they took the field: the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, soon after his territories were invaded by the French, in consequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France to obtain a more favorable treatment for his dominions; but his Swedish majesty, by the advice of the senate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alleging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take such a step in favor of a prince, who had not only broken the laws and constitutions of the empire in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even assisted with his troops a power known to be its declared enemy: the Aulic council too, seeing, or pretending to see, the behavior of the landgrave in the same light, issued

a decree against his serene highness towards the end of this year.

23. The court of Great Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so, but in vain; a pusillanimous answer being all the satisfaction that was obtained: the tameness and indifference with which the States-General had since seen Ostend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French, drew on their high-mightinesses a farther remonstrance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by colonel Yorke, his Britannic majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria:—'Considering the critical situation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the king of Great Britain was willing to flatter himself that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumspect conduct observed by your high-mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands: it was with the utmost surprise the king heard, that without any previous consent of yours, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Ostend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and stores, whilst France continues to send thither a formidable quantity of both: the conduct of the court of Vienna towards his majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it; but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of to palliate her behavior towards England, it does not appear that they can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your high-mightinesses: the king never doubted that your high-mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a pro-

ceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it: your high-mightinesses will have perceived that your silence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can say where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the empress-queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places; and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England: but, high and mighty lords, it is but too evident that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighboring states: the late demand made to your high-mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through some of the barrier-towns, in order to be sent to Ostend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the king's attention: the sincere friendship and parity of interests of Great Britain and Holland require that they should no longer keep silence, lest in the issue it should be considered as a tacit consent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights: the king commands me, therefore, to recall to your high-mightinesses the twofold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your high-mightinesses; unless the new allies have resolved to set aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your high-mightinesses and the crown of France, signed at Utrecht, on the eleventh of April, 1713, in the fifteenth article, are these words:—'It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the said Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his catholic majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princess of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, succession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the most christian king, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France.' In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article:—'His imperial and catholic majesty promises and engages that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to

any other but the successor of the German dominions, of the house of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince but to the successor of the states of the house of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the said lords the States-General.' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your high-mightinesses; and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may allege to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Ostend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France: if their designs are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your high-mightinesses easy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacific neighbor, and by giving you indisputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the said two treaties with regard to the Netherlands: the king has so much confidence in the good sense, prudence, and friendship of your high-mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most efficacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance; and of your being pleased, in concert with his majesty, to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have for more than a century been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce.' It does not appear that this remonstrance had the desired effect on the States-General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in taking all advantages: the truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

24. The king of Prussia, about this period, began to harbor a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the same respite from the dangers and inconveniences of war, and that he ran the risk of being abandoned by his sole patron and ally, who seemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most disagreeable consequences to his continental interest: stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian majesty is said to

have written an expostulatory letter to the king of Great Britain,⁹ in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having instigated him to commence hostilities, and insists on his remembering the engagements by which he was so solemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Prussian's declaration to the British minister when he first set out for Saxony, importing that he was going to fight the king of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacts or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired: certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter: in that paper, the king of Great Britain declared that the overtures made by his majesty's electoral ministers in Germany touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his majesty as king; that he saw in the same light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, threatening a subversion of the whole system of public liberty and of the independence of the European powers; that he considered as a fatal consequence of this dangerous connexion the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France in such a critical situation, and contrary to the faith of the most solemn treaties; that, whatever might be the success of his arms, his majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the king of Prussia, in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies: he concluded with assuring the king of

⁹ The letter, which was written in French, we have translated for the reader's satisfaction:—'I am informed that the design of a treaty of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover is not yet laid aside: is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember that you are the sole cause of these misfortunes that now impend over my head: I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering assurances: I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought on me all the force of Europe: I depend on your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twenty-sixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended.'

Prussia, that the British crown would continue to fulfil with the greatest punctuality its engagements with his Prussian majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigor. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who at this juncture stood in need of an extraordinary cordial: he knew he could securely depend, not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which, like an indulgent nurse, hath always presented the nipple to her meagre German allies: those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprise, at hearing an alliance stigmatised as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers; as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates that now reproached her with these connexions.

25. His Britannic majesty was resolved that the king of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near 40,000 men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause: those stipulations also met with a very unfavorable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army, in their retreat before the enemy, were very freely censured, and some great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the public: this event, so singular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy-council, where it is said to have been canvassed with great warmth and animosity of altercation: the general complained that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of Hanover, and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence: in all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inasmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Versailles: the former saw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken possession

of the whole country, seized the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the whole form of government, in the name of his most christian majesty; while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the king of Prussia, who at that period seemed to totter on the verge of destruction: on the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favorable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in such a manner, that in a little time they must have surrendered at discretion: they therefore determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by ill usage to an infraction of the treaty, or should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, established without proper authority: both expedients were used without reserve: they were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to desist from all service against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country: at the same time, her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country by levying exorbitant contributions; and connived at such outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected disgrace on the character of his nation: the court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose; but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions: at least, they were bent on keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined would counterbalance any advantage that Great Britain might obtain in other parts of the world: had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great Britain would have saved about £20,000,000, together with the lives of her best soldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the blessings of security and peace: but the king of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befell the electorate: he could not bear the thoughts of seeing it, even for a season, in the hands of the enemy; and his own sentiments in this particular were reinforced by the pressing remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, whom at this juncture

he thought it dangerous to disoblige: actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention so palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, consistently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the assistance of his ally and the recovery of his own dominions: he therefore, in quality of elector of Brunswick-Luneburg, published a declaration, observing, 'that his royal highness the duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be disarmed; that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only, and indeed it was originally nothing more; but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually begun for disarming the auxiliaries on certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed; and what was at first an agreement between general and general, was become a matter of state between the two courts of London and Versailles; that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannic majesty would have acquiesced with them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army and his dominions, and by the most outrageous conduct freed his Britannic majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention; that in the midst of the armistice the most open hostilities had been committed; the castle of Schartzfels had been forcibly seized and pillaged, and the garrison made prisoners of war; the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the baillies of those districts, from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement, had been summoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the public revenue; the French had appropriated to themselves part of those maga-

zines, which by express agreement were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had seized the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the king of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to consider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral: he took notice, that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilised people, of burning, sacking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation.' Such were the professed considerations that determined his Britannic majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies: it was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had distinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannic majesty: the truth is, the king of Prussia recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend on his concurring with all his measures in conducting the operations of the British army. The duke de Richelieu was no sooner informed of these particulars, than he sent a letter to prince Ferdinand, specifying, 'that although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been established between the duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded so far by his confidence in the good faith of the elector of Hanover, who had signed that convention, as to believe that the troops were assembled for no other purpose than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been assigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be sacred and inviolable: he affirmed, the king his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his desire to spare the effusion of human blood: with that view he declared to his serene highness, in the name of his most christian majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army;

but he could not help apprising his serene highness, that if this army should take any equivocal step, and still more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking on himself as authorised so to do by the rules of war; that he would set fire to all palaces, houses, and gardens; sack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage; and subject the country to all the horrors of war and devastation: he conjured his serene highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged he would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps so contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation.' To this letter, which was seconded by the count de Lynar, the Danish ambassador, who had mediated the convention, prince Ferdinand returned a very laconic answer, intimating that he would give the duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army: at this particular juncture the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw on himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well-appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

26. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly assembled at Stade under the auspices of prince Ferdinand, who resolved without delay to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march: part of the enemy's rear, consisting of 2000 men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and intirely defeated by general Schuylenburg; and, in a few days after this action, another happened on the river Aller between two considerable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by general Zastrow, remained masters of the field: these petty advantages served to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Luneburg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon: the operations of prince Ferdinand, however, were retarded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the French officer who commanded the garrison of Harburg: when the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of the town, he retired into the castle, which he held out against a considerable detachment of the

allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortifications being intirely demolished, he surrendered on capitulation: on the sixth of December, prince Ferdinand began his march towards Zell, where the French army had taken post, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, who at the approach of the Hanoverians called in his advanced parties, abandoned several magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the sheep-walks of his Britannic majesty, without paying the least regard to the representations made by prince Ferdinand on this subject; reduced the suburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perished: one cannot without horror reflect on such brutal acts of inhumanity: the French troops, on divers occasions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for sentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other: the French troops, posted on the right of the Aller, burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were so strongly intrenched, that prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy: at the same time his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he therefore retreated to Ultzen and Luneburg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed several small enterprises by detachment; while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighborhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought by the out-parties with various success: their imperial majesties were no sooner apprised of these transactions, which they considered as infractions of the convention, than they sent an intimation to the baron de Steinburg, minister from the king of Great Britain as elector of Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna, as he might easily conceive, could not be very agreeable; in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hanoverian army's having recourse to their arms again was in some measure alleviated by the

certain tidings received from Petersburg, that the czarina had signed her accession in form to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm.

27. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the sixteenth of November the queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach: she was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broken by grief and anxiety conceived from the distress of her own family, as well as from the misery to which she saw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers that were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they seemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutrality: the States-General proceeded with great circumspection in the middle course between two powerful neighbors equally jealous and formidable; and the king of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention settled between him and the belligerent powers, implying that his subjects should pursue their commerce at sea without molestation, provided they should not transport those articles of merchandise which were deemed contraband by all nations. The operations at sea during the course of this year, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important: the commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe: the Greenwich ship of war, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels: on the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valor: the Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven ashore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers: a French frigate of twenty-six guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant and alert officer, who in the sequel signalised himself on divers occasions by very extraordinary acts of valor: all

the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish themselves in the service of their country; and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centring their whole attention in advantageous prizes; now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valor in the pursuit of national glory.

28. Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the *Terrible*, under the command of captain William Death, equipped with twenty-six carriage-guns and manned with 200 sailors: on the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and sixteen seamen: then he secured with forty men his prize, which contained a valuable cargo, and directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the *Vengeance*, a privateer of St. Maloes, carrying thirty-six large cannon, with a complement of 360 men: their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down on the *Terrible*, whose mainmast was shot away by the first broadside: notwithstanding this disaster, the *Terrible* maintained such a furious engagement against both as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain: the French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-six persons alive, sixteen of whom were mutilated by the loss of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded: the ship itself was so shattered, that it could scarcely be kept above water; and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation: the victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the *Terrible*¹⁰ into St. Maloes,

¹⁰ There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer; the *Terrible*, equipped at Execution-dock, commanded by captain Death, whose lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow and that part of the crew which survived the engagement: in this, and every sea-encounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation by reducing the *Melampe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in number of men and weight of metal: this exploit was seconded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of another French adventurer, called the countess of Gramont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, commander of the *Antelope*: in a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation.

29. On the first day of December the king of Great Britain opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne, which seemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expense of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe: his majesty graciously declared, that it would have given him a most sensible pleasure to acquaint them, at the opening of the session, that his success in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigor of the measures formed for that purpose: he expressed the firmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly surmounted so many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few disappointments, which he trusted might be retrieved, by the blessing of God, and the zeal and ardor of his parliament for his majesty's honor and the advantage of their country: he said it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods: he signified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the preservation of the protestant religion and the liberties of Europe, and in that view to encourage and adhere to his allies: for this cause, he

assured them, he would decline no inconveniences, and in this cause he earnestly solicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance: he observed, that the late signal success in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in such a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were on them: he particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally, the king of Prussia, might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve: to the commons he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great a reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance: he only desired such supplies as should be necessary for the public service; and told them they might depend on it, that the best and most faithful economy should be used: he took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in some parts of the kingdom; he laid injunctions on them to use their endeavors for discouraging and suppressing such abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority: he concluded with observing, that nothing would so effectually conduce to the defence of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. The time was, when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the house of commons: they would have imputed the bad success of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the service: they would have inquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who without provocation had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the empire: they would have started doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted that it would only serve to protract the burden of a continental war: they would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were on them, and drawn this consequence; that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the sacred trust reposed in them by their constituents;—a trust, which their consciences would

not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous encumbrances under which it groaned in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest: they would have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the least prospect of advantage: they would have varied essentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies from the sentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the economy to be used in managing the national expense: finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which seemed bent on reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition: but that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished; the voice of the sovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity; and those happy days were now approaching, that saw the commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

30. To the speech of his majesty the house of lords returned an address in such terms of complacency as had long distinguished that illustrious assembly: the commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardor; and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued: their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the house, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed: they granted for the sea-service of the ensuing year 60,000 men, including 14,845 marines; and the standing army, comprehending 4000 invalids, was fixed at 53,777 effective men, commission and non-commission officers included: for the maintenance of these forces by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons, at home and abroad, the expense of the ordnance, and in order to make good the sum which had been issued by his majesty's orders,

in pursuance of the address from the commons, they now allotted £4,022,807. 7s. 3d. : they unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigence, towards enabling his majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, the sum of £100,000 : for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to the sea-officers, they allowed £224,421. 5s. 8d. ; towards the building and support of the three hospitals for seamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich, £30,000 ; for the reduced officers of the land forces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other such military contingences, £40,926. 17s. 11d. ; towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of his majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of £200,000 ; for defraying the charge of 2120 horse, and 9900 infantry, together with the general and staff-officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, for sixty days, together with the subsidy for the said time, pursuant to treaty, they assigned £38,360. 19s. 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. : to the foundling-hospital they gave £40,000, for the maintenance and education of deserted young children, as well as for the reception of all such as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity : £300,000 were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and £284,802 for making up the deficiency of the grants for the service of the preceding year : the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was moreover gratified with the farther sum of £203,536. 4s. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his subsidy : they granted £670,000 for enabling his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate : for defraying the charge of 38,000 men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and the count of Buckeburg, together with that of general and staff-officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth of November in the last, to the twenty-fourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of £463,084. 6s. 10d. ; and furthermore they granted £386,915. 13s. 2d., to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all

other extraordinary expenses, contingences, and losses whatsoever, incurred or to be incurred on account of his majesty's army, consisting of 38,000 men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, from November last to next December inclusive: for the extraordinary expenses of the land forces, and other services, incurred in the course of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed £145,454. 15s. 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ d.: they provided £800,000 to enable his majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged on the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session: £26,000 were bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above £20,000 for the expense of maintaining the colonies of Nova Scotia and Georgia; for reimbursing to the province of Massachusetts-bay and the colony of Connecticut their expense in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them for his majesty's service, in the campaign of the year 1756, the sum of £41,117. 17s. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; to be applied towards the rebuilding of London-bridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbor of Milford, and repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster, they allotted £29,000: the East-India company were indulged with £20,000 on account, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their settlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of £10,000 was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and £11,450 were granted as an augmentation to the salaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature: they likewise provided £100,000 for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia; and advanced £800,000 to enable his majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to take all such measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigence of his affairs might require: the whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous sum of £10,486,457. 0s. 1d. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part of which were bestowed in favor of our German allies, whom the

British nation thus generously paid for fighting their own battles: besides the sum of £1,861,897. 4s. 8d. expressly assigned for the support of these continental connexions, a sum considerably exceeding the whole of the revenue raised in the reign of Charles II., and what part of the sum granted to the king for extraordinary expenses might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be swelled with the vast expense incurred by expeditions to the coast of France; the chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favor of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from sending such numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a considerable body of forces for its defence against the attempts of the English: indeed, the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to suggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favor of Great Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to insult and invasion had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed: but the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great Britain or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with such powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one-third part of the money, annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a single cruiser would have been able to stir from the harbors of France; all her colonies in the West-Indies would have fallen an easy prey to the arms of Great Britain; and, thus cut off from the resources of commerce, she must have been content to embrace such terms of peace as the victor should have thought proper to prescribe.

31. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realise those articles of supply, consisted of the malt-tax, the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the exchequer produced from the sinking-fund, £4,500,000 to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent., and £500,000 by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of

three per cent. these several annuities to be transferable at the bank of England, and charged on a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the sinking-fund should be a collateral security :¹¹ £1,606,076. 5s. 1½*d.* issued and applied out of such moneys as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the sinking-fund : a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his majesty in Great Britain, exceeding the yearly value of £100 : an imposition of one shilling annually on every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable on them, to commence from the fifth of April : an additional tax of sixpence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in

¹¹ It was enacted, that every person subscribing for £500 should be entitled to £450 in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery-tickets, and so in proportion for a greater or less sum ; that the lottery should consist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in the proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize ; the blanks to be of the value of six pounds each ; the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three per cent. to commence from the first of January, 1759 ; and that the sum of £4,500,000, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth of July in the present year ; which annuities should stand reduced to three per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by sums not less than £500,000 at one time, six months' notice having been first given of such payments respectively ; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth of April, make a deposit of ten per cent. on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these £5,000,000, with the cashiers of the bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose ; that the several sums so received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the exchequer, to be applied from time to time to such services as should then have been voted by the house of commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise ; that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments, should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which such payments were directed to be made ; and that all persons who should make their full payments on the said lottery should receive their tickets as soon as they could be conveniently made out.

Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards : a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties payable on foreign sail-cloth imported into Great Britain, the exportation of British gunpowder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar-plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expense : an annual tax of forty shillings for a license to be taken out by every person trading in, selling, or vending gold or silver plate, in lieu of the duty of sixpence per ounce on all silver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, essayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined : a cessation of all drawbacks payable on the exportation of silver plate : a law prohibiting all persons from selling by retail any sweet or made wines, without having first procured a license for that purpose : and a loan by exchequer-bills for £800,000, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament : these provisions amounted to the sum of £11,079,722. 6s. 10d., exceeding the grants in the sum of £593,265. 6s. 9d., so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above £500,000 would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session : by these copious grants of the house of commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of £87,367,210. 19s. 10½d. ; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in christendom.

32. The liberality of the parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome stream when touched by the rod of Moses : the present supply which the commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was in pursuance of a message from his majesty, communicated to the house by Mr. secretary Pitt, signifying, that the king had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigor against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the king of Prussia ; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the farther necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian majesty, could be laid before the house, the

king, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful commons for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the house the speedy consideration of such a present supply, as might enable his majesty in this critical conjuncture to subsist and keep together the said army. This address was no sooner recited by the speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance would have appeared even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which to men of ordinary penetration appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they insulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason: this pretext was worn so threadbare, that among the sensible part of mankind it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. In order to persuade mankind that the protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the designs that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars properly authenticated: in that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed: the States-General of the United Provinces, who have made such glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the protestant religion, would surely have lent a helping hand towards its preservation: the Danes would not have stood tamely neutral, and seen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy: it is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the protestant faith, would now join an association, whose aim was the ruin of that religion: it is not credible, that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other protestant states of the empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent on its destruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandisement of the catholic faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse: as therefore no particular of such a design was

explained ; no act of oppression towards any protestant state or society pointed out, except those that were exercised by the protestants themselves ; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly disavowed any such design in the most solemn manner ;—the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame ; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful : notwithstanding the general lukewarmness of the age in matters of religion, it produced considerable effect among the fanatic sectaries that swarm through the kingdom of England : the leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the spirit of delusion, or desirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately seized the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people, and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even disgrace humanity. The signal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the king at this juncture was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the sum granted for augmenting the salaries of the judges : in the reign of king William, when the act of settlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and that their salaries should be established ; but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their salaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation : a stretch of complaisance, which how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince famed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

33. So fully persuaded were the ministry that the commons would cheerfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty of convention with his Prussian majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great Britain, transacted and signed by almost all the privy-counsellors who had any share in the admi-

nistration.¹² This treaty, which was signed at Westminster, imported, 'that the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defence and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanic body, his Britannic majesty had from these considerations determined to grant to his Prussian majesty an immediate succor in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious; and their majesties having judged it proper that thereon a convention should be made for declaring and fixing their intentions on this head, they had nominated and authorised their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations:—the king of Great Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to such persons as should be authorised to receive it by his Prussian majesty, the sum of 4,000,000 of German crowns, amounting to £670,000 sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole sum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, on being demanded by his Prussian majesty: this prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that sum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defence and mutual security, proposed by their said majesties: moreover the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other sort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended: finally, it was stipulated that this convention should be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.'

34. All the resolutions to which the committee of ways

¹² These were, Sir Robert Henley, lord-keeper of the great seal; John, earl Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles, duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury; Robert, earl of Holderness, one of the principal secretaries of state; Philip, earl of Hardwick; and William Pitt, Esq. another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and on the part of his Prussian majesty, the sieurs Dado Henry, baron of Knyphausen, his privy-counsellor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of London; and Louis Michel, his resident and chargé d'affaires.

and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal sanction: the militia still continued to be an object of parliamentary care and attention; but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained a capital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The commons having presented an address to his majesty with respect to the harbor of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbor was laid before the house, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars: they were of opinion that the mouth of the harbor was too wide to admit of any fortification or effectual defence; but that the passage called Nailand-point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified so as to afford safe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the situation, nature, soil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more fitted for such a design: that if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbor, the distressful delays too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enlargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force, the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated by the want of a harbor like that of Milford-haven, framed by nature with such local advantages. This report appeared to be so well supported by evidence, that a bill was framed and passed into an act, for granting £10,000 towards carrying on the works for fortifying and securing the harbor of Milford in the county of Pembroke: other laws of national consequence were enacted in the course of this session with little or no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates, merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rise, unless the time for the importation of foreign corn, duty-free, should be prolonged, or some other salutary measure taken by parliament to prevent dealers from engrossing corn; submitting to the wisdom of the house a

total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premises into consideration, and grant a seasonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking such other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them should seem necessary and expedient: this being an urgent case, that equally interested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated on and discussed with remarkable despatch: in a few days a bill was prepared, passed through both houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth of December in the present year the three acts of last session, for prohibiting the exportation of corn, for prohibiting the distillation of spirits, and for allowing the importation of corn duty-free: a second law was established, regulating the price and assize of bread, and subjecting to severe penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration: in consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole house, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty on the exportation of corn, unless sold at a lower price than is allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary; but this bill, after having been read a second time and committed, was neglected and proved abortive.

35. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy; establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more easily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families; and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments: this bill, having passed the lower house, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the lords, who by divers messages to the house of commons desired the attendance of several members: these messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality; and the house unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to the lords, acquainting them that the house of commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages on what grounds or for what purposes their lordships desired the house would give leave to such of their members as were named in the said messages to attend the house of lords, in order to be examined

on the second reading of the bill, the commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention: the lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the commons to understand, that they desired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses on the second reading of the bill: this explanation being deemed satisfactory, the members attended the house of lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea affairs, touching the inconveniences which had formerly attended the sea-service, as well as the remedies now proposed; and the bill having passed through their house, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his majesty's assent. The militia-act, as it passed in the last session, being found on trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarming nature: the power vested by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army; for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliament, and consequently employed for sinister purposes: a commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as subject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants and manufacturers of silk offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last session, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown silk till the first of December, 1757, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of such silk through Germany to Hamburg and Holland, which in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from

unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the silk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated: they therefore prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such fine Italian organzine silk as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburg for London, on or before the first of December: the petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the house complied with their request; and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form: a speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny-bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary: a committee being appointed to inquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance; and, in pursuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time, and rendering others perpetual.¹³

¹³ Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the thirteenth and fourteenth of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine; an act of the ninth of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise; a clause in the act of the sixth of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river, and another clause in the said act to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop-binds; several clauses in an act of the tenth of George II. for punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. the temporary part of the act of the twentieth of George II. for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts: those continued were,—1. an act of the twelfth of George II. for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth of September, 1764, and to the end of the next session of parliament: 2. an act of the fifth of George II. to prevent frauds by bankrupts, &c. for the same period: 3. an act of the eighth of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval stores, &c. for the same period: 4. an act of the nineteenth of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c. until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or destroying of madder-roots: 5. an act of the ninth of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, 1764: 6. an act of the fourth of George II. granting an allowance on British-made gunpowder, for the same period: 7. an act of the

36. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, having drawn up a petition to the house of commons, alleging that the toll on loaded vessels or other craft, passing through the arches of London-bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year 1750, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious and insufficient to defray the expense, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected, and praying that a bill might be prepared for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request: this however was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges, and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the public in general: these were heard by their counsel before the committee; but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to ashes: then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London presented another petition, alleging, that in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expense, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a public passage to and from the city until the great arch should be finished; which temporary bridge being consumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a farther considerable expense; that the sum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the said temporary bridge, was estimated at £80,000; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-bridge was calculated for the general good of the public, for the advancement of trade and commerce, and for making the navigation on the river Thames more safe and

sixth of George II. for encouraging the trade of the sugar colonies until the twenty-ninth of September, 1761: and, 8. so much of the act of the fifteenth and sixteenth of George II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, 1764.

secure; they therefore prayed the house to take the premises into consideration. This petition being recommended by his majesty to the consideration of the house, was referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolution of granting £15,000 towards the rebuilding of London-bridge: a bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the passage over and through London-bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed on loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burdensome to trade; but this encumbrance was prevented by another petition of several merchants, tradesmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark, taking notice of the £15,000 granted towards the repair of London-bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the said bridge free for all his majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the said bridge, they represented the hardships which they and all traders would continue to labor under; they alleged, that the surveyors and workmen then employed on this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers consisted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great savings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the sums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood; that there were very considerable estates appointed solely for the repairs of the bridge, which they apprehended would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll on trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaises, and saddle-horses: this remonstrance made no impression on the house: the bill being, on a motion of Sir John Philips, read a third time, passed through both houses, and obtained the royal assent.

37. The interest of the manufacturers was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant essentially necessary in dying and printing calicoes, which may be raised in England without the least inconvenience: it was judged, on inquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to ascertain the tithe of it; and a bill was brought in for that pur-

pose : the rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre ; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next session of parliament ; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not easy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the settlement of servants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, entitled, ‘ an act for the better adjusting and more easily recovering of the wages of certain servants and of certain apprentices. No country in the universe can produce so many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily accumulating in England ; in no other country is there so much money raised for their support by private charity as well as public taxation ; yet this, as much as any country, swarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress ; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or a shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration. The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced, were now grown so infamously open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered so obscure and perplexed by the pretensions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and the very essence of parliaments to be in danger : actuated by these apprehensions, Sir John Philips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long distinguished himself in the opposition by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, and farther regulate the proceedings of such elections : he was accordingly permitted to bring in such a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, and lords North and Carysfort ; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of ‘ an act for farther explaining the laws touching the election of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great Britain called England : ’ the preamble specified, that though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the present reign, it was provided that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a

shire within England and Wales without having a freehold estate in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; nevertheless, certain persons, who hold their estates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have at certain times presumed to vote at such elections;—this act therefore ordained, that from and after the twenty-ninth of June, in the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature.¹⁴ So far the act, thus procured, may be attended with salutary consequences; but in all probability, the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered, inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of licentiousness, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect on the morals of the people.

38. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community: lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend were ordered by the house to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding session under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with some prejudice to the liberty of the subject: objections of the same

¹⁴ For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, that the plaintiff in such action might only set forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the sum of fifty pounds, alleging the offence for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, on trial of any issue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff on any such writ; that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgment given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his majesty's navy, for preventing desertion, and for the relief and encouragement of seamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants: the purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lighter-men, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his majesty's service, in any case of emergency: this expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and ineffectual encumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen; and of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was contrived. Numberless frauds having been committed, and incessant law-suits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given to form a bill for the public registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other encumbrances, that might affect any honors, manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein public registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those, who perhaps had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of conveyancing: such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates are encumbered, because, in consequence of such a register, every mortgage under which they labored would be exactly known. The next object to which the house converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engrossing fishmongers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffic gave law to above 600,000 of their fellow-citizens: abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to such flagrant imposition: inquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length, the bill, having passed through the lower house, was conveyed to the lords, among whom it was suf-

ferred to expire, on pretence that there was not time sufficient to deliberate maturely on the subject.

39. The occasion that produced the next bill which miscarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding session for recruiting his majesty's land forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commissioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judging ultimately, whether the persons brought before them were such as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service; for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his majesty's service by any process, other than for some criminal accusation: during the recess of parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for an habeas-corpus, which produced some hesitation, and indeed an insurmountable difficulty; for, according to the writ of habeas-corpus, passed in the reign of Charles II., this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament: before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the secretary at war; but the nature of the case plainly pointed out a defect in the act, seemingly of the most dangerous consequence to the liberty of the subject: in order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the subject on the writ of habeas-corpus was prepared, and presented to the house of commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments: it imported, that the several provisions made in the aforesaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus in cases of commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should in like manner extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined or restrained of his or her liberty, under any color or pretence whatsoever: that, on oath made by such person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that such confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed

criminal matter, an habeas-corpus, directed to the person or persons so confining or restraining the party, as aforesaid, should be awarded and granted, in the same manner as is directed, and under the same penalties as are provided by the said act, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons, before whom the party so confined or restrained should be brought, by virtue of any habeas-corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties so brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain: the rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other clause of this regulation: the commons seemed hearty in rearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow-subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity; but in the house of lords such a great number of objections was started, that it sunk at the second reading; and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that house in the next session.

40. His majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling-hospital to the house of commons, which cheerfully granted £40,000 for the support of that charity, the growing annual expense of it appeared worthy of farther consideration; and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the said hospital: the bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the purpose; but before the house could take the report into consideration, the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors of the privateer called the *Antigallican*, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadiz, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining of this interposition as an act of partiality and injustice; representing the great expense at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the loss and hardships which

they the petitioners had sustained, and imploring such relief as the house should think requisite : though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that seemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honor of the nation, when thus insulted by a foreign power ; the house on this occasion treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect ; either giving little credit to the assertions it contained, or unwilling to take any step which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on such a frivolous subject : true it is, the Spanish government alleged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, insomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged some houses ; but this allegation was never properly sustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of admiralty at Gibraltar.

41. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any circumstance of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of parliament : in the beginning of this session, lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the house, by his majesty's command, that lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt, a member of that house, was in arrest for disobedience of his majesty's orders while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France : the commons immediately resolved, that an address should be presented to his majesty, returning him the thanks of this house for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting lieutenant-general Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the house, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual sum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories : while a committee was employed in perusing the accounts relating to the sum granted in the preceding session for this purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a message from his majesty, was presented to the house, soliciting farther assistance for the ensuing year : in the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alleging that the price of negroes

was greatly advanced since the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had been under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance, that greatly distressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and settlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated joint-stock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the sole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American sugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the slave-trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year 1750, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their slaves and merchandise in the forts and settlements on the coast: they therefore prayed that this part of the act might be repealed; that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his majesty's subjects, who were settled, or might at any time thereafter settle in Africa, should have free liberty, from sun-rise to sun-set, to enter the forts and settlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandise in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to secure their slaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners: the house, having taken this petition into consideration, inquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, resolving, that the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted £10,000 for maintaining the British forts and settlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with sagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made on the principal British fort in Guinea, would have succeeded; and all the other settlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition.¹⁵

¹⁵ Robert Hunter Morris represented, in a petition to the house,

42. The longest and warmest debate which was maintained in the course of this session arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future parliaments; a measure truly patriotic, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that whilst the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing such an alteration in the form of government: reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of corruption and venality: the alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or convulsion, to the general satisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood on such good terms with the people: indeed, a quick succession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generosity, which now so remarkably espoused and gratified the sovereign's predilection for the interest of Hanover. Other committees were established, to inquire into the expense incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England; to consider the laws relating to

that as no salt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend on a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he therefore offered to undertake the making of marine-salt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risk and charge, provided he could be secured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might produce for such a term of years as might seem to the house a proper and adequate compensation for so great an undertaking: the petition was ordered to lie on the table; afterwards read, and referred to a committee, which however made no report:—a circumstance not easily accounted for, unless we suppose the house of commons were of opinion that such an enterprise might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the miscarriage of another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licensing alehouses, which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for a second reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectual means for ascertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future: the commons were perfectly satisfied with the new works which had been raised at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions; but no farther progress was made in this inquiry, except an order for printing these resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing the standards were ordered to be locked up by the clerk of the house, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. On the ninth of June sundry bills received the royal assent by commission, his majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both houses, expressing his majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection, demonstrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honor and real interest in all parts, in their earnestness to surmount every difficulty, in their ardor to maintain the war with the utmost vigor; proofs, which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subsisted in its full force: they were given to understand that the king had taken all such measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their public-spirited views and wishes; that with their assistance, crowned by the blessing of God on the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the king of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most sensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and possessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great Britain: the commons were thanked for the ample supplies which they had so freely and unanimously given, and assured, on the part of his majesty, that they should be managed with the most frugal economy: they were desired, in consequence of the king's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement

amongst his faithful subjects ; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions and measures ; and to exert themselves in maintaining the peace and good order of the country, by enforcing obedience to the laws and lawful authority.

43. Never, surely, had any sovereign more reason to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers and the spirit of his people : the whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager on prosecuting the war with such vigor and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great Britain : new levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected : such was the credit of the administration, that people subscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness : an unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that constituted the army and navy ; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace : such a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and disgraces of the preceding campaign, had on a very solemn occasion lately declared his belief that there was a determined resolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the service of the country : he affirmed, that though his majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honor and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan, in which there was the least appearance of any danger, could with confidence be trusted : he particularised the inactivity of one general in North-America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations : he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil power from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written scrap of paper : he observed, that with a force by land and sea greater than ever the nation had heretofore maintained, with a king and ministry

ardently desirous of redeeming her glory, succoring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few seemed affected with any other zeal than that of aspiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commander in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination: he used his utmost endeavors to answer the expectation of the public; but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his sovereign: a particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a channel, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the foot of the throne; but the packet was said to have been purposely intercepted and suppressed: perhaps he was not altogether excusable for having corresponded so slightly with the secretary of state: but he was said to have gone abroad in full persuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his assiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who in that case would have superintended and directed all the operations of the army: all sorts of military preparations in founderies, docks, arsenals, raising and exercising troops, and victualling transports, were now carried on with such diligence and despatch, as seemed to promise an exertion that would soon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past disgrace: the beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his majesty's third daughter, the princess Caroline, a lady of the most exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the age of forty-five, sincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety and unbounded benevolence.

44. The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy: they exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that a great number of prizes were taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished: a very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventure*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her bowsprit to his capstan; and,

after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit: a French frigate of thirty-six guns was taken by captain Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force: divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel: at this period, the board of admiralty received information from admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron: captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon: he was ordered to cruise off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French squadron under Kersin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa: this commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of the seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary to ensure success: he reinforced his squadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns, and armed for the occasion; and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board seamen from the merchant-ships and soldiers from the garrison: thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates: they were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains: — ‘Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?’ They replying in the affirmative; he added, ‘Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging.’ After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down on the French squadron without farther hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity: the enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honor was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight,

as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph: but notwithstanding all their endeavors, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line: his example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which by this assistance, with the favor of the land-breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory: one of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to 300 killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number: nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica, and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in this engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in a subsequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbor, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave: after M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to sail on their return to Europe: captain Forrest then presented the admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, and urged it earnestly; this however was declined, and captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only; the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas: accordingly, captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected: next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risk a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colors, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins: at five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry:

about ten he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbor in the bay: at this period captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm: he forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five and thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbor: then he made sail after the rest; and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length, the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck their colors: these being secured, were afterwards used in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted, and the Mars made sail, in hopes of escaping; but the Augusta, coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship, in the neighborhood of four or five harbors, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security: the prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were safely conveyed to Jamaica, and there sold at public auction for the benefit of the captors, who may safely challenge history to produce such another instance of success.

45. The ministry having determined to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North-America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helens on the nineteenth of February, when the Invincible, of seventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran aground, and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were saved: in the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape Breton or Canada; and about the same time the town of Emden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who sent up two of his small ships

to anchor in the river between Knok and the city : the garrison, amounting to 3700 men, finding themselves thus cut off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation ; and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the admiralty received advice of another advantage by sea, which had been gained by admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagená, on the coast of Spain : on the twenty-eighth of March he fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships ; namely, the Foudroyant of eighty guns, the Orphée of sixty-four, the Oriflamme, of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbor of Carthagená. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron, than they dispersed, and steered different courses : then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each ; while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagená, to watch the motions of the French squadron which lay there at anchor : about seven in the evening, the Orphée, having on board 500 men, struck to captain Storr, in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was sustained by the ships Berwick and Preston : the Monmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with fourscore cannon, and containing 800 men, under the direction of the marquis du Quesne : the action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life ; nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigor by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett ; and the Foudroyant was disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton-Court, appeared : this mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck on the water, and the decks covered with carnage : the Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos by the ships Montague and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain : as for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime sailer. This was a severe stroke on the ene-

my, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain; and the disaster was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basque-road, on the coast of Poictou, discovered off the isle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates and forty transports, having on board 3000 troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions intended as a supply for their settlements in North-America: they no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion: some of them escaped by sea; but a great number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor abreast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships *Intrepid* and *Medway* with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound ahead, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy; but the want of a sufficient depth of water rendered the scheme impracticable: in the mean time, the French threw overboard their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be water-borne by the flowing tide: by these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated: another convoy of merchant-ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbor of St. Martin, in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the same fate; but this advantage was overbalanced by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the *Pluto* fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who in an unequal combat with the enemy refused to quit the deck, even when he was disabled; and fell gloriously, covered

with wounds, exhorting the people with his latest breath to continue the engagement while the ship could swim, and acquit themselves with honor in the service of their country.

46. On the twenty-ninth of May the *Raisonable*, a French ship of the line, mounted with sixty-four cannon, having on board 630 men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon, chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis, in the *Dorsetshire*, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which 160 men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails, and rigging: these successes were, however, chequered by the tidings of a lamentable disaster that befell the ship *Prince George*, of eighty guns, commanded by rear-admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean: on the thirteenth of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for several hours, the flames increased; and the ship being consumed to the water's edge, the remnant sunk about six o'clock in the evening: the horror and consternation of such a scene are not easily described: when all endeavors proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all distinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in such crowds, that in a few moments it upset: the admiral, foreseeing that this would be the case, stripped off his clothes, and committing himself to the mercy of the waves, was saved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had sustained himself in the sea a full hour by swimming: captain Payton, who was the second in command, remained on the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station; and then, descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the *Alderney sloop*: the hull of the ship, masts, and rigging were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in several parts through horrid clouds of smoke; nothing was heard but the cracking of the flames, mingled with the dismal cries of terror and distraction; nothing was seen but acts of frenzy and desperation: the miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrors of such a conflagration, sought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the sea; and about 300 men were preserved by the boats belonging to some ships

that accompanied the admiral in his voyage; but 500 perished in the ocean.

47. The king of Great Britain, being determined to renew his attempt on the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose: two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the service of this expedition; the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and 100 transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe, who had signalised himself by his gallantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless expedition. The plan of a descent on France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and 6000 marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not inherit all the military genius of his grandfather, yet far excelled him in the amiable and social qualities of the heart: he was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, and good-natured to excess: on this occasion he was assisted by the counsels of lord George Sackville, second in command, son to the duke of Dorset, an officer of experience and reputation, who had in the civil departments of government exhibited proofs of extraordinary genius and uncommon application. The troops, having been encamped for some time on the isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May; and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest: the two fleets parted at sea: lord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a strong place of considerable commerce, situated on the coast of Bretagne, against which the proposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended: the town, however, was found too well fortified both by art and nature, to admit of an attempt by sea with any prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighborhood: after the fleet had been by contrary winds detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues

to the eastward of St. Maloes; and Mr. Howe having silenced a small battery which the enemy had occasionally raised on the beach, the troops were landed, without farther opposition, on the sixth of June. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success: a great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which however they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancalle, where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition: the forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched: immediately after their landing, the duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand that his descent on the coast was not effected with a design to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannic majesty; that all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own king, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money: he concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithstanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword: to the magistracy of St. Maloes he likewise sent a letter, importing, that as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages between Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, had deserted their habitations, probably to avoid the payment of the usual contributions; and he being informed that the ma-

gistrates had compelled the people of the country to retire into the town of St. Maloes; he now gave them notice, that if they did not immediately send them back to their houses, and come themselves to his head-quarters to settle the contributions, he should think himself obliged to proceed to military execution: these threats, however, were not put in force, although the magistrates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his injunction; but it was found altogether impossible to prevent irregularities among troops that were naturally licentious: some houses were pillaged, and not without acts of barbarity; but the offenders were brought to immediate justice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof of the general's humanity, that in destroying the magazines of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed the suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small storehouse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire without endangering the whole district. The British forces being re-embarked, including about 500 light-horse, which had been disciplined and carried over with a view to scour the country, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancele for several days, during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the engineers; but in consequence of their report, the scheme was laid aside, and the fleet stood out to sea, where it was exposed to some rough weather: in a few days, the wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered again towards the French coast, and ran in with the land near Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats provided for landing were hoisted out, and a second disembarkation expected; but the wind blowing violently towards the evening, the boats were re-shipped, and the fleet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dangers of a lee-shore: next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and orders were given to prepare for a descent; but the duke of Marlborough, having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherburg, in the neighborhood of which place the fleet came to anchor: here some of the transports received the fire of six different batteries, and a considerable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the landing; nevertheless, the general resolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet should be attacked in the night by

the first regiment of guards: the soldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprise, when the wind began to blow with such violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly sustained in case of a repulse, even if the disembarkation could have been effected: this attempt therefore was laid aside, but at the same time a resolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing: a disposition was made accordingly; but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly on the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed: these concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favorable opportunity: the fleet stood out to sea; and the tempest abating, they steered for the isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helens. Such was the issue of an enterprise achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favor of the German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion; but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, and whether the same armament might not have been employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater advantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious reader's own reflection.

48. The designs on the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season; but in the mean time the troops were disembarked on the isle of Wight, and one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body of troops, with which the government resolved to augment the army of the allies in Germany, commanded by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps on the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterwards created duke of York, entered as a volunteer with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the

sea-service: the remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every thing prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helens on the first of August; and after a tedious passage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the seventh in the bay of Cherburg: by this time the enemy had intrenched themselves within a line, extending from the fort Ecœurdeville, which stands about two miles to the westward of Cherburg, along the coast, for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper distances: behind this intrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risk was run in landing the British forces: at first, a bomb-ketch had been sent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation; while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in the bay: the other bomb-ketches, being posted along shore, did considerable execution on the intrenchments, not only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also by using ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of balls, which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scattering as they fly, do abundance of mischief: while the ketches fired without ceasing, the grenadiers and guards were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boats; and landing without opposition, instantly formed on a small open portion of the beach, with a natural breast-work in their front, having on the other side a hollow way, and a village rising beyond it with a sudden ascent: on the left, the ground was intersected by hedges, and covered with orchards; and from this quarter the enemy advanced in order: the British troops immediately quitted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, and a straggling fire began; but the French, edging to the left, took possession of the hill, from whence they pickeered with the advanced posts of the English: in the mean time, the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enemy at night retired. As the light troops were not yet landed, general Bligh encamped that night at the village of Erville, on a piece of ground that did not extend above 400 paces; so that the tents were pitched in a crowded and irregular manner: next morning, the general, having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy were seen moving on the hill or in the plain, and that Fort Querqueville was intirely aban-

done, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherburg: an advanced party took immediate possession of Querqueville, and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted by the enemy: the British forces, marching behind St. Aulne, Ecœurdeville, Hommet, and La Galet, found the town of Cherburg likewise abandoned; and the gates being open, entered it without opposition: the citizens, encouraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection, which had been published and distributed in order to quiet their apprehensions, received their new guests with a good grace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the soldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness: all night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherburg to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality: these outrages, however, were no sooner known than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future: next morning, the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the basin; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery: great sums of money had been expended on the harbor and basin of Cherburg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disrepute: the enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay; but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light-horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day sent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherburg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received reinforcements: several skirmishes were fought by the out-parties of each army, in one of which captain Lindsay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental in training the light-horse, was mortally wounded. The harbor and basin of Cherburg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighborhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships, a contribution,

amounting to about £3000 sterling, was exacted on the town, and a plan of re-embarkation concerted, as it appeared, from the report of peasants and deserters, that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number: a slight intrenchment being raised, sufficient to defend the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the flat-bottomed vessels: on the sixteenth of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherburg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

49. This service being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland: in two days it weighed and stood again to the southward; but was obliged by contrary winds to return to the same riding: the second effort, however, was more effectual: the fleet with some difficulty kept the sea; and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The sloops and ketches being ranged along shore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach; and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbor of St. Briac, above the town of St. Maloes, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels; but St. Maloes itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land forces or the shipping: the mouth of the river that forms its basin extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land batteries: and the entrance is defended by such forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to silence, considering the difficult navigation of the channels; besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the basin was moreover strengthened by seven frigates or armed vessels, whose guns might have been brought to bear on any batteries that could be raised on shore, as well as on ships entering by the usual channel; for these substantial reasons the design against St. Maloes was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken some step for the farther annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near

the fleet, which had by this time quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety; and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

50. On Friday, the eighth of September, general Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he crossed a little gut or inlet of the sea at low water; and his troops being incommoded by the peasants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a message, intimating, that if they would not desist, he would reduce their houses to ashes: no regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually set on fire as soon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other side of the inlet: next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed: general Bligh, continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for re-embarkation; for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in re-embarking; for this reason a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo, but this advice was rejected; and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army savored strongly of blind security and rash presumption: had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, consisting of about 6000 men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption: but, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at

two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal: the troops were in motion before three; and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine: then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but many ships rode at considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition, by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed: the small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore to cover the embarkation; and a considerable number of sea-officers were stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats' crews, and regulate the service; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy soldiers: had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this service, the disgrace and disaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a windmill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect on the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage: they afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow way on their left, with a design to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the sand-hills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havoc, and threw them into confusion: their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one side, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they suddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, consisting of all the grenadiers and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore, to the number of 1500, under the command of major-general Dury: this officer,

seeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain: had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have so far succeeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion; but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number: instead of attempting to fight against such odds in an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their right flank would have been secured by the intrenchment; and the enemy could not have pursued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have sustained: this scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he seemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line, being drawn up in uneven ground, began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forsake them on this occasion: they saw themselves in danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every side; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted: in this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seized with a panic; they faltered, they broke; and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, pursued by the enemy, who no sooner saw them give way, than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage: general Dury, being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as soldiers: many swam towards the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at discretion: the havoc was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raised on the hill: the slaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the

frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed ; but this was no sooner silenced by a signal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to the vanquished. About 1000 chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion ; nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other excesses : war is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrors are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated : we ought also to use our best endeavors to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilised enemy : let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war has subjected to our power : let us, in prosecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression : thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly ensue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness : in other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made : by civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment ; they will mingle with the soldiers, and even form friendships among them ; serve as guides, messengers, and interpreters ; let out their cattle for hire as draught-horses ; work in their own persons as day-laborers ; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles ; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence : if great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the soldiers, such invasions will be productive of nothing but miscarriage and disgrace ; for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war ; and the troops engaged in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the service : they are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly de-

pend on a due observance of these forms: the soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanliness and the exterior ornaments of dress: they become slovenly, slothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats; landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and disorderly command; they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants: their duty on such occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy: they soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine; they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty: thus the dignity of the service is debased; they lose all sense of honor and of shame; they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor overawed by the authority of officers; in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonor, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion will scarce overbalance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expense of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French king to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places; they serve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great Britain, and secure its coast from invasion; but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expense, by the shipping alone: should it be judged expedient, however, to prosecute this desultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to consider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to secure a retreat; that the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to disembark but on a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be seen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who

presumed to reflect on the particulars of this last expedition, owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the general, in remaining on shore after the design on St. Maloes was laid aside; in penetrating so far into the country without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating, by beat of drum, his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near seven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favored with a list of the prisoners, including four sea-captains; and assured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance: these matters being adjusted, commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the soldiers were disembarked.

51. The success of the attempt on Cherburg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower amidst the acclamations of the populace: from this pinnacle of elation and pride they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas, which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same proportion: the people of that nation began to stand in need of some such cordial after the losses they had sustained, and the ministry of Versailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage; they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconsiderable detachment: the people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions; and congratulated themselves on their success in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity so peculiar to the French nation: indeed, these are artifices which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing farther was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprise of importance achieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer: the cruisers,

however, still continued active and alert: captain Hervey, in the ship *Monmouth*, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit, of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality: about twenty sail of small French vessels were driven ashore on the rocks of Bretagne by some cruisers belonging to the fleet commanded by lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they sailed: in the month of November, the *Belliqueux*, a French ship of war, mounted with sixty-four guns, having by mistake run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received: when he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but soon hauled down his colors, and, without firing a shot, surrendered, with a complement of 417 men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal. By this time the English privateers swarmed to such a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbor, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained: in this dearth of legal prizes, some of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations: a Dutch vessel, having on board the baggage and domestics belonging to the marquis de Pignatelli, ambassador from the court of Spain to the king of Denmark, was boarded three times successively by the crews of three different privateers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambassador, insulted and even cruelly bruised his officers, stripped his domestics, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit and a bill of exchange: complaints of these outrages being made to the court of London, the lords of the admiralty promised, in the gazette, a reward of £500, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts of piracy: some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

52. The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffic, not only in taking the fair advantages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors: the

English government, incensed at this unfair commerce, prosecuted with such flagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all ships of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigor and severity: a great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica; sometimes the owners met with hard measure, and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity: the subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamor against the English, for having, by these captures, violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great Britain and the republic: remonstrances were made to the English ministry, who expostulated, in their turn, with the deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity: the British resident at the Hague, in a conference with the states, represented that the king his master could not hope to see peace speedily re-established if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies; that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were so nearly connected with his subjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities: he answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candor and moderation; declared his majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed on the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent such outrages for the future; and assured them that his Britannic majesty had nothing more at heart, than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been so long united.

53. These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds, and appease the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their art and influence to exasperate their passions and widen the breach between the two nations: the court of Versailles did not fail to seize this opportunity of insinuation: while, on the one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Holland exaggerated

the indignities and injuries which the states had sustained from the insolence and rapacity of the English ; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade and formal professions of respect : such was the memorial delivered by the count d'Affry, intimating that the empress-queen, being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Ostend and Nieuport ; and applied to the French king, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her imperial majesty think proper : the spirit of the Dutch merchants, at this juncture, and their sentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high coloring in a memorial to the States-General, subscribed by 269 traders, composed and presented with equal secrecy and circumspection : in this famous remonstrance they complained that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects, were not only continued, but daily multiplied ; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the assistance of their high-mightinesses, to protect in the most efficacious manner the commerce and navigation, which were the two sinews of the republic : for this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge ; and other propositions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the princesse-gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France, against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend themselves against all invasion : at the same time she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom ; and, without doubt, her healing counsels were of great efficacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

CHAP. XXIX.

GEORGE II. (CONTINUED.)—1758.

1. Expedition against Senegal—2. Fort Louis and Senegal taken—3. Unsuccessful attempt on Goree—4. Expedition to Cape Breton—5. Louisburg taken,—6. and St. John's—7. Unsuccessful attempt on Ticonderoga—8. Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English—9. Brigadier Forbes takes Fort du Quesne—10. Goree taken—11. Shipwreck of captain Barton—12. Gallant exploit of captain Tyrrel—13. Transactions in the East-Indies. Admiral Pocock engages the French fleet—14. Fort St. David's taken by the French. Second engagement between admiral Pocock and M. d'Apché.—15. Progress of M. Lally—16. Transactions on the continent of Europe—17. King of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony and the dominions of the duke of Wirtemberg—18. State of the armies on the continent—19. French king changes the administration of Hanover—20. Plan of a treaty between the French king and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel—21. Treaty between the French king and the duke of Brunswick—22. Decree of the Aulic council against the elector of Hanover and others—23. Bremen taken by the duke de Broglie, and retaken by prince Ferdinand—24. Duke de Richelieu recalled. Generous conduct of the duke de Randan—25. The French abandon Hanover. Prince of Brunswick reduces Hoya and Minden—26. Prince Ferdinand defeats the French at Creveldt, and takes Dusseldorp—27. Prince of Ysemburg defeated by the duke de Broglie—28. General Imhoff defeats M. de Chevert—29. General Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen—30. Death of the duke of Marlborough—31. Operations of the king of Prussia at the beginning of the campaign—32. He enters Moravia, and invests Olmutz—33. He is obliged to raise the siege, and retires into Bohemia, where he takes Konigsgratz—34. Progress of the Russians—35. King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Zorndorf,—36. and is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen—37. He retires to Silesia—38. Suburbs of Dresden burnt by the Prussian governor—39. King of Prussia raises the siege of Neiss, and relieves Dresden—40. Inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed—41. Progress of the Swedes in Pomerania—42. Prince Charles of Saxony elected duke of Courland—43. King of England's memorial to the diet of the empire—44. Death of pope Benedict—45. King of Portugal assassinated—46. Proceedings of the French ministry—47. Conduct of the king of Denmark—48. Answers to the charges brought by the Dutch

against the English cruisers—49. Conferences between the British ambassador and the States-General—50. Farther proceedings.

1. THE whole strength of Great Britain, during this campaign, was not exhausted in petty descents on the coast of France: the continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigor was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa: the whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of 500 miles, had been engrossed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near 300 leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a considerable garrison: the gum-senegal, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at second-hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price for that commodity: this consideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain: the project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a sensible quaker, who as a private merchant had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish king of Legibelli: ¹⁶ he found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the subjects of Great Britain, whom he publicly preferred to all other Europeans; and so exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal: at that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the king of England would send out an armament to reduce Fort Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders: in that case, he promised to join his Britannic majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects: Mr. Cumming not only perceived the advantages that would result from such an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but foresaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade

¹⁶ The name the natives give to that part of south Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of the Gum Coast, and called in maps the Sandy Desert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

in a country, which, over and above the gum-senegal, contains many valuable articles, such as gold dust, elephants' teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, slaves, ostrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet: elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his inquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French settlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort Louis: this was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a severe examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming to surmount a variety of obstacles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even then it was not executed in its full extent: he was abridged of one large ship; and in lieu of 600 land forces, to be draughted from different regiments, which he in vain demanded, first from the duke of Cumberland and afterwards from lord Ligonier, the lords of the admiralty allotted 200 marines only for this service: after repeated solicitation, he, in the year 1757, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a sloop and two busses, and make an attempt on the French settlement in the river Senegal: these ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the season was too far advanced to admit a probability of success, and therefore the design was postponed: in the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reinforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise: a small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines commanded by major Mason, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition: captain Walker was appointed engineer, and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition.¹⁷

¹⁷ On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrary to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministry, that he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by no means

This little armament sailed in the beginning of March, and in their passage touched at the island of Teneriffe, where, while the ships supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan sloop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favored him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabic language: this prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbors, called the Diable Moors;¹⁸ and the queen-dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal; but she assured him, that should the French be exterminated, she and her subjects would go thither and settle: in the mean time, one of the chiefs, called prince Amir, despatched a messenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and design: he declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble 300 warriors to join the English troops, and that in his opinion the king would reinforce them with a detachment from his army: by this time, captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick; and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his design, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promised auxiliaries: on the twenty-second of April he weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying on Fort Louis, situated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance: the commodore, having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegal-road at the mouth of the river, and here he perceived several armed sloops which the enemy had detached to defend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous: all the boats were employed in

have concerned himself about them: he also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act: if it was the first military scheme of any quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war; and one of the first that ever was carried on, according to the pacific system of the quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

¹⁸ This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued exchanging fire over a narrow tongue of land with the vessels of the enemy, consisting of one brig and six armed sloops, mounted with great guns and swivels: at length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, captain Millar, of the London buss, seized that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the inside, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy: next day he was joined by the other small vessels, and a regular engagement ensued: this was warmly maintained on both sides, until the busses and one dogger, running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water: then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other vessels; so that now the whole amounted to 390 marines, besides the detachment of artillery: as they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an intrenchment, and began to disembark the stores, great part of which lay under water: while they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and submitted; and on the succeeding day they were reinforced by 350 seamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colors flying.

2. They had made no farther progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the intrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governor of Fort Louis: after some hesitation, captain Marsh and major Mason agreed that all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private effects, provided all the merchandise and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; and that all the forts, storehouses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be signed: they promised that the free natives living at Fort Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to

remain in the place or remove to any other part of the country.¹⁹ The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately sent up the river with a flag of truce, to see the articles signed and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning: as soon as the day broke, they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay on their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach: this reserve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their intrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation: this intelligence was communicated in a second letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French director-general should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a surety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit: this request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked: the French, seeing them advance, immediately struck their flag; and major Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise to a considerable value: the corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannic majesty; the neighboring princes, attended by numerous retinues, visited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation; and the king of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, sent an ambassador from his camp, to major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and assurances of friendship: the number of free independent negroes and mulattoes, settled at Senegal, amounted to 3000, and many of these enjoyed slaves and possessions of their own: the two French factories of Podore and

¹⁹ The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

Galam, the latter situated 900 miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; so that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not intirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan and solicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

3. Fort Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt on the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal: there the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they could be shipped for the West-Indies: if the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case the nation would have saved the considerable expense of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of commodore Keppel: at present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants.

4. Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about 50,000 men, including 22,000 regular troops: the earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders: about 12,000 were destined to undertake the siege of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton: the general himself reserved near 16,000 for the reduction of Crown-Point, a fort situated on Lake Champlain: 8000 under the conduct of brigadier-general Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a considerable garrison was left at Annapolis, in Nova Scotia. The reduction of Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton being an object of immediate con-

sideration, was undertaken with all possible despatch: major-general Amherst being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of 157 sail, took their departure from the harbor of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May; and on the second of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisburg: the garrison of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, consisted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed of the burghers; and towards the end of the siege they were reinforced by 350 Canadians, including threescore Indians: the harbor was secured by six ships of the line and five frigates,²⁰ three of which the enemy sunk across the harbor's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping: the fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and several bastions exposed in such a manner as to be enfiladed by the besiegers, and no part of the town secure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most inaccessible part of the beach: intrenchments were thrown up, and batteries erected: but there were some intermediate places, which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked: the disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in several sloops under convoy, passed by the mouth of the harbor towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town: on the eighth of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before day-break in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of brigadier-general Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who in the sequel displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius: at the same time, the two other divisions

²⁰ The *Prudent* of seventy-four guns; the *Entreprenant* of seventy-four guns; the *Capricieux*, *Célèbre*, and *Bienfaisant*, of sixty-four guns each; the *Apollo*, of fifty guns; the *Chèvre*, *Biche*, *Fidelle*, *Diana*, and *Echo* frigates.

on the right and in the centre, commanded by the brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy: notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were upset, and a very severe fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which did considerable execution, brigadier Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation: the soldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity; and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion: the other divisions landed also, but not without an obstinate opposition; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisburg was formally invested: the difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege: Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a considerable body behind him on the island; as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbor, which would otherwise have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

5. The governor of Louisburg, having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his outposts, prepared for making a vigorous defence: a very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbor; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect: in the mean time, brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbor, and taken possession of the Lighthouse-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island fortification, which last was soon silenced: on the nineteenth of June, the *Echo*, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruisers, after having escaped from the harbor: from the officers on board of this ship the admiral learned that the *Bizarre*, another frigate, had sailed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the *Comete* had successfully followed her example: besides the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the de-

tached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping: on the twenty-first of July, the three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Célèbre* were set on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes, so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy: for this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth of the month, the boats of the squadron were in two divisions detached into the harbor, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Balfour: they accordingly penetrated in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, and boarded the enemy sword in hand: the *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire and destroyed; but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbor in triumph. In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former cheerfully assisting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mortars: the fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until, at length, their shipping being all taken and destroyed, the caserns ruined in the two principal bastions,¹ forty out of fifty-two pieces of cannon dismounted, broken, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected; the governor, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port Mahon: in answer to this proposal, he was given to understand that he and his garrison must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general assault by the shipping under admiral Boscawen: the chevalier Drucour, piqued at the severity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, stand an assault; but the commissary-general and intendant of the colony presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in

¹ It may not be amiss to observe, that a cavalier, which admiral Knowles had built at an enormous expense to the nation, while Louisburg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, intirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

consequence of which he submitted : on the twenty-seventh of July, three companies of grenadiers, commanded by major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate ; and brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to see the garrison lay down their arms, and deliver up their colors on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expense of about 400 men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisburg, in which the victors found 221 pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition : the merchants and inhabitants were sent to France in English bottoms ; but the garrison, together with the sea-officers, marines, and mariners, amounting in all to 5637 prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisburg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates : the particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel despatched for that purpose, with captain Amherst, brother to the commander, who was also entrusted with eleven pair of colors taken at Louisburg : these were, by his majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot-guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kensington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exultation : indeed, the public rejoicings for the conquest of Louisburg were diffused through every part of the British dominions ; and addresses of congratulation were presented to the king by a great number of flourishing towns and corporations.

6. After the reduction of Cape Breton, some ships were detached, with a body of troops under the command of lieutenant colonel lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had, since the beginning of the war, supplied Quebec with considerable quantities of provision : it was likewise the asylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government ; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their sudden irruptions into Nova Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain : the number of

inhabitants amounted to 4100, who submitted and brought in their arms; then lord Rollo took possession of the governor's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the savages had assassinated, in consequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above 10,000 head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each 1200 bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebec.

7. The joy and satisfaction arising from the conquest of Louisburg and St. John was not a little checked by the disaster which befell the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of general Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprise, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the future conquest of Canada: in the beginning of July, his forces, amounting to near 7000 regular troops and 10,000 provincials, embarked on the Lake George, in the neighborhood of Lake Champlain, on board of 900 batteaus and 135 whale-boats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition: the general's design was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort situated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain: this fortification was on three sides surrounded with water, and in front nature had secured it with a morass: the English troops, being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breastwork of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having set them on fire, and burned their tents and implements: the British forces continued their march in the same order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one on another: lord Howe, being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment which had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the

advanced post; and, a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss, a good number were killed, and 148 were taken prisoners, including five officers: this petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action; unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline; and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The general, perceiving the troops were greatly fatigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought it advisable to march back to the landing-place, which they reached about eight in the morning: then he detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, six companies of the royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighborhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned: this post being secured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had assembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to 6000. These, they said, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable intrenchment, where they intended to wait for a reinforcement of 3000 men, who had been detached, under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river;² but, on intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga: this information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected: he, therefore, early next morning sent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's intrenchments; and he reported, that the works, being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success: a disposition was made accordingly for the attack; and, after proper guards had been left at the saw-mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion: they advanced

² This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawk river, but was recalled before he could execute his design: general Abercrombie afterwards sent thither brigadier Stanwix, with a considerable body of provincials; and this important pass was secured by a fort built at that juncture.

with great alacrity towards the intrenchment, which however they found altogether impracticable: the breastwork was raised eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in such a manner as to render the intrenchment almost inaccessible: notwithstanding these discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched up to the assault with an undaunted resolution, and sustained a terrible fire without flinching: they endeavored to cut their way through these embarrassments with their swords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances: the general by this time saw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about 1800 men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men and twenty-five officers were either slain on the spot or desperately wounded: Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to stay in the neighborhood of the enemy with forces which had received such a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaux; and, re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure. Censure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander: his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous: in such case allowances must be made for the peevishness of disappointment and the clamor of connexion: how far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general, we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend on the courage and discipline of his forces, he surely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been superior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected reinforcement: he might therefore have remained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprise when he should be reinforced in his turn; for general Amherst no sooner heard

of his disaster, than he returned with the troops from Cape Breton to New England, after having left a strong garrison in Louisburg: at the head of six regiments he began his march to Albany about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other service before the season should be exhausted.

8. In the mean time, general Abercrombie had detached lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet, with a body of 3000 men, chiefly provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario: to the side of this lake he penetrated with his detachment; and embarking in some sloops and batteaux provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consisting of 110 men, with a few Indians, immediately surrendered at discretion: considering the importance of this post, which in a great measure commanded the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, and served as a magazine to the more southern castles, the French general was inexcusable for leaving it in such a defenceless condition: the fortification itself was inconsiderable and ill-contrived; nevertheless, it contained sixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the subsistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, in his enterprise on the Mohawk river. Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns: two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and merchandise which it contained: in consequence of this exploit, the French troops to the southward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward: indeed, great part of the Indian trade centred at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of Ame-

rica, some of them at the distance of 1000 miles; and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. So much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those savage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal; nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New York, and found this traffic much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expense of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the sea to the course of the river St. Lawrence.

9. In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac facilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, entrusted to the conduct of brigadier Forbes, who with his little army began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of country very little known; destitute of military roads; encumbered with mountains, morasses, and woods, that were almost impenetrable: it was not without incredible exertion of industry that he procured provisions and carriages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended scouting-parties, secured camps, and surmounted many other difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during which he was also harassed by small detachments of the enemy's Indians: having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced colonel Bouquet, with 2000 men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached major Grant, at the head of 800 men, to reconnoitre the fort and its outworks: the enemy, perceiving him approach, sent a body of troops against him sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very severe action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about 300 men killed or taken, including major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteen officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, brigadier Forbes advanced with the army, resolved to prosecute his operations with vigor; but the

enemy, dreading the prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the fort, and retired down the river Ohio to their settlements on the Mississippi: they quitted the fort on the twenty-fourth of November, and next day it was possessed by the British forces: as for the Indians of this country, they seemed heartily to renounce their connexions with France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government of his Britannic majesty. Brigadier Forbes, having repaired the fort, changed its name from du Quesne to Pittsburg, secured it with a garrison of provincials, and concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the Indian tribes: then he marched back to Philadelphia, and in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, for the defence of Pennsylvania; but he himself did not long survive these transactions, his constitution having been exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. Thus have we given a particular detail of all the remarkable operations by which this campaign was distinguished on the continent of America: the reader will be convinced, that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga and the disaster of the advanced party in the neighborhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great Britain acquired many important advantages, and indeed paved the way for the reduction of Quebec, and the conquest of all Canada: in the mean time, the admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having left a considerable squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to six large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

10. The conquest of the French settlement in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete whilst France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress: for this purpose, commodore Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two bomb-ketches, and some transports, having on board 700 men of the regular troops, commanded by colonel Worge; and embarked in the harbor of Cork in Ireland, from whence this whole armament took their departure on the eleventh of November: after a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, they arrived at Goree in the latter end of

December, and the commodore made a disposition for attacking this island, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very indifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, extending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a triangular form; and on the south-west side rising into a rocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is situated: there is another, still more inconsiderable, called St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the island; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about 100 pieces of cannon and four mortars: the French governor, M. de St. Jean, had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about 300 men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants: the flat-bottomed boats for disembarking the troops being hoisted out and disposed along-side of the different transports, the commodore stationed his ships on the west side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches: this was a signal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island: in the course of the action, the cannonading from the ships became so severe and terrible, that the French garrison deserted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governor, who acquitted himself like a man of honor; but he was obliged to strike his colors, and surrender at discretion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British commodore did not exceed 100 men killed and wounded: the success of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the bursting of a bomb-shell; and the number of their wounded was very inconsiderable: while the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their sentiments and surprise in loud clamor and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colors being struck as a signal of submission, the commodore sent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag on the castle of St. Michael: in the mean time, the governor and the rest of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the

road, and stores, money, and merchandise, to the value of £20,000: part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of major Newton, together with three sloops for his service; the squadron being watered and refreshed from that part of the continent which is governed by one of the Jalof kings; and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel ships to France; the commodore set sail for Senegal, and reinforced Fort Louis with the rest of the troops, under colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favored with a visit by the king of Legibelli; but very little pains were taken to dismiss this potentate in good humor, or maintain the disposition he professed to favor the commerce of Great Britain: true it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with some neighboring nations; and such engagements were cautiously and politically avoided; because it was the interest of Great Britain to be on good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

11. Commodore Keppel, having reduced Goree, and reinforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed: this expedition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco: 130 men, including several officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of 220, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the risk of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time subsisted between Great Britain and Morocco: nay, they were even enslaved by the emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government; so little dependence can be placed on the faith of such barbarian princes, with whom it is even a disgrace for any civilised nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

12. The incidents of the war that happened in the West-Indies during these occurrences may be reduced to a small compass: nothing extraordinary was achieved in the neighborhood of Jamaica, where admiral Coates commanded a

small squadron, from which he detached cruisers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually secured by the vigilance of captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumspection: in the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship, the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valor appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November: being detached on a cruise in his own ship, the Buckingham, by commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weasel sloop, commanded by captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe; and immediately discovered a fleet of nineteen sail, under convoy of a French ship of war, carrying seventy-four cannon and two large frigates: captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the sail he could carry; and the Weasel running close to the enemy, received a whole broadside from the large ship, which however she sustained without much damage; nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement: the enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chase; while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and sometimes lying on his quarter: at length, he came along-side of the Florissant, within pistol-shot, and poured in a whole broadside, which did considerable execution: the salutation was returned with equal vivacity, and a furious engagement ensued: captain Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and lost three fingers of his right hand; so that, being intirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he lost his life; then the charge devolved to the second lieutenant, who acquitted himself with equal honor, and sustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy: the officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigor and deliberation; and captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms so effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters: at

length, confusion, terror, and uproar prevailing on board the *Florissant*, her firing ceased, and her colors were hauled down about twilight; but her commander perceiving that the *Buckingham* was too much damaged in her rigging to pursue in any hope of success, ordered all his sails to be set, and fled in the dark with his two consorts: nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with seventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with 700 men, and assisted by two large frigates, one of thirty eight guns and the other wanting two of this number. The loss of the *Buckingham* in this action did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas the number of the slain on board the *Florissant* did not fall short of 180, and that of her wounded is said to have exceeded 300: she was so disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept afloat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage, as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

13. In the East-Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were intirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Bussy, had, in the year 1756, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda: in the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Bussy made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandermaalanka, and Vizagapatam; and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Massulapatam: while a body of the English company's forces, under captain Caillaud, endeavored to reduce the important fortress and town of Madura, the French, under M. d'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly: Caillaud no sooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the siege: then he returned to Madura; and, after an unsuccessful assault, made himself master of it by capitulation: during these transactions, colonel Forde made an attempt on the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twenty-four miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by colonel Aldercron: the first

was repulsed in storming the place ; the other was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East-Indies, under the command of general Lally, an officer of Irish extraction ; together with such a number of ships, as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of admiral Pocock, who had succeeded admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which in the beginning of this year was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of commodore Steevens : immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth of March, admiral Pocock, who had already signalised himself by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, sailed to windward, with a view to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence : in two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle ahead : the admiral took the same precaution ; and, bearing down on M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon : the French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet ; and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward : admiral Pocock's own ship and some others being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it advisable to pursue them with all the sail he could carry ; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, standing to the south-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning : in this expectation, however, he was disappointed ; the enemy showed no lights, nor made any signals that could be observed ; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared : Mr. Pocock, on the supposition that they had weathered them in the night, endeavored to work up after him to windward ; but finding he lost ground considerably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras ; and received intelligence from the chief of that settlement, that one of the largest French ships, having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole squadron lay at anchor : such was the issue of the first action between the

English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about 500 men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number. Being dissatisfied with the behavior of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to inquire into their conduct: two were dismissed from the service, and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

14. In the mean time Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry; and taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea: two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains, seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which however was in a few days surrendered: a much more resolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of major Polier, who commanded the garrison: when he arrived at Madras, he was subjected to a court of inquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it surrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted: Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, desired to serve as a volunteer with colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a sally at the siege of Madras. Admiral Pocock having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavors, he could not reach it in time to be of any service: on the thirtieth of the month he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning; nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose: then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David was surrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras in order to refresh his squadron: on the twenty-fifth of July, he sailed a third time in quest of M. d'Apché, and in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry: they no sooner descried him advancing, than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement;

but all his endeavors proved fruitless till the third of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down on them in order of battle : the engagement began with great impetuosity on both sides ; but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché set his foresail, and bore away ; his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line : the British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the sail they could carry : they escaped by favor of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement ; having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and 116 wounded, including commodore Steevens and captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous : the number of killed and wounded on board the French squadron amounted, according to report, to 540 ; and their fleet was so much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit ; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French squadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

15. Mr. Lally, having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David,³ resolved to extort a sum of money from the king of Tanjour, on pretence that in the last war he had granted an obligation to the French governor for a certain sum, which had never been paid : Lally accordingly marched with a body of 3000 men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded seventy-two lacs of rupees : this extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the sea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital ; but after he had prosecuted the siege till a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous sallies being made by the forces of the king of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners sent from the

³ Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no resistance ; and there being no place in Fort St. David bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment.

English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind: he arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September: he afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the siege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the succeeding year: in the mean time, the land forces belonging to the East-India company were so much outnumbered by the reinforcements which arrived with M. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field; but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

16. Having particularised the events of the war which distinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great Britain was immediately and intimately concerned; it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favor the abominable designs of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any solid benefit; and to defend a foreign elector, in whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had signalled the former campaign, the mutual losses of the belligerent powers, the incredible expense of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by sword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the distresses of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of war which desolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned; but the powers at variance seemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable resentment: jarring interests were harmonised, old prejudices rooted up, inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconsistencies reconciled in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the king of Prussia; and, on the other hand, the king of Great Britain seemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch: yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by disagreeing motives, which, in the sequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian ma-

jesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength: the empress-queen, over and above her desire of retrieving Silesia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the suggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be said to have sacrificed in some measure the interests of her family as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army: France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburg; and therefore she had, no doubt, set bounds to the prosecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her designs against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she sent an army of 120,000 men across the Rhine, instead of 24,000 which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the empress-queen of Hungary, who is said to have shared in the spoils of the electorate: the czarina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch, augmented her finances by considerable subsidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigor in Pomerania; and her general Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack: he was indeed disgraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders; but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates; while the empress of Russia gained time to deliberate on the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or disadvantages that might accrue to her from persevering in the engagements which she had contracted: as for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they prosecuted the war in such a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valor of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

17. When the Russian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, marshal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition: by the beginning of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn: he in a little time made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralsund and the isle of Rugen, and possessed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected: the Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Konigsgratz. The king of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia, except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with a blockade, sent detachments from his army cantoned in the neighborhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or southern part of Silesia, where they surprised Troppau and Jaggernsdorf; while he himself remained at Breslau, entertaining his officers with concerts of music; not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance: he laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of 500,000 crowns from the electorate of Saxony: having received intimation that the duke of Mecklenburg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only secured the magazines, but levied considerable contributions; and the duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister. The states of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Prussian majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing that they should levy and deliver within a certain time 18,000 recruits for his army; pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipsic was taxed with an extraordinary subsidy of 800,000 crowns, on pain of military execution: the states were immediately convoked at Leipsic, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a considerable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution; he justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practised the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in the countries which they had invaded and subdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a

people with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive: as little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, assuming the title of protector of the protestant religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, since the king of Prussia declared they might depend on his protection.

18. Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the empress-queen of Hungary, and the states of the empire, the czarina, the kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of 300,000 men; and all these were destined to act against the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover: in opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Prussian majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the spoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenburg, enabled to maintain an army of 140,000 men; while the elector of Hanover assembled a body of 60,000 men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Buckeburg, Saxe-Gotha, and Brunswick-Wolfenbuttle, all of them maintained by the pay of Great Britain: at this juncture indeed there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were possessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was intirely changed.

19. In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faigy, to whom the French king granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate: this director was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his most christian majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room: the French king by the same decree ordained that all persons who had been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or

estimates relating to the administration of the revenues, should communicate them to John Faidy, or his attorneys; that the magistrates of the towns, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the said John Faidy or his attorneys the produce of six years of the duties and revenues belonging to the said towns, districts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January, 1751, together with an authentic account of the sums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth of October, that immediately after the conventions of Closter-Seven and Bremenworden,⁴ the court of Versailles had determined to change the government and system of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it surrendered on the ninth of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the cessation of arms, in seizing places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree above-mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice then could the French government charge the elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles; or what respect to good faith and humanity did the duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles signed at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army, should be confiscated for the use of his most christian majesty?

20. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, being desirous of averting a like storm from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, but even solicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependents; for, on the eighteenth of October, the minister of the duc de Deuxponts

⁴ Six days after the convention was signed at Closter-Seven, another act of accommodation was concluded at Bremenworden between the generals Sporcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other points omitted in the convention.

delivered at Versailles, in the name of the landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following conditions:—the landgrave, after having expressed an ardent desire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: that he should enter into no engagement against the king and his allies, and give no assistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of his majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote in the general or particular assemblies of the empire against his majesty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the empire: that for this end, his troops, which had served in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannic majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his most christian majesty should restore the dominions of the landgrave in the same condition they were in when subdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all farther contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse, and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the king of France should guaranty all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of assurance signed by his son, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the emperor and the empress-queen, that, in consideration of the immense losses and damages his most serene highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great sums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his serene highness should be attacked, his most christian majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succors. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally: the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace,

when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great Britain; but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future storm or commotion: how far he merited this confidence and favor might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war; in the course of which his troops were hired to the king of Great Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate: since the commencement of the present troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute; and stood connected with her designs by solemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honor: but now that the cause of Hanover seemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had suffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even sued to be enlisted in the service of his adversary: this intended defection was however prevented by a sudden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly foresee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

21. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making such advances to the French monarch: the duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the king of Great Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Versailles; so that the negociation must have been begun before that convention took place: on the twentieth of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the duke of Brunswick, accepted and signed the conditions which the French king and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose: these imported, that his most christian majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunswick and Wolfenbüttele during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed, and take an oath that they should not, during the present war, serve against the king or his allies: that the duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot and two squadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles, but the regu-

lations made by marshal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing : that the duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the empire : that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanic body had assembled, and that he should order his minister at Ratisbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the emperor : in consideration of all these concessions the duke was restored to the favor of the French king, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded ; and that nothing farther should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of Brunswick. How scrupulously soever the duke might have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to resume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunswick, as well as his nephew, the hereditary prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid on his son to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland : the duke wrote an expostulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had seduced his troops, decoyed his son, and disgraced his family ; insisting on the prince's pursuing his journey, as well as on the return of the troops ; and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual :⁵ not-

⁵ Translation of the letter written by the duke of Brunswick to his brother prince Ferdinand :—

‘ Sir,—I know you too well to doubt that the situation in which we stand at present with respect to each other gives you abundance of uneasiness, nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern ; indeed, it afflicts me greatly : meanwhile, I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my eldest son : I am exceedingly mortified to find myself under the hard necessity of telling you that this step is contrary to the law of nations and the constitution of the empire ; and that, if you persist in it, you will disgrace your family, and bring a stain on your country, which you pretend to serve : the hereditary prince, my son, was at Hamburg by my order, and you have carried him to Stade : could he distrust his uncle,—an uncle who has done so much honor to

withstanding this warm remonstrance, prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan: he detained the troops and the he-

his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty,—a liberty never refused to the lowest officer? I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he served, were to have stayed with the Hanoverians; would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission; and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of such a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the hereditary prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs, without the suggestion of others: those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany; they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your brother lay his just complaints against you before the whole empire and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause that you pretend to support? I repeat it, brother, that this design could not have been framed by you: I again command my son to pursue his journey, and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction; if you should, (which I pray God avert!) I solemnly declare that I will not be constrained by such measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry: the duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home; the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound: the march of the troops was settled; and an incident happening, they halted; that obstacle being removed, they were to have continued their march: the court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention; while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their instructions, negotiated at Versailles and at Vienna. After all these steps, they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and intirely ruin my estate as well as my honor: did you ever know your brother guilty of such things? True it is, I have, as you say, sacrificed my all; or rather, I have been sacrificed: the only thing left me is my honor; and in the unhappy contrast of our situations, I lament both you and myself, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honor: I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise: my troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner: I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are

reditary prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalised himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

22. The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had intirely changed the face of affairs in the empire: the French king was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies: as little formidable were the denunciations of the emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulic council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, issued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the king of Prussia: the French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated and set aside, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French king and the proceedings of his Britannic majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch: in answer to the emperor's decree and this virulent charge, baron Gimmingen, the electoral minister of Brunswick-Luneburg, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important services his sovereign had done the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the queen's refusing to assist him when his dominions were threatened with an invasion: he enumerated many instances, in which she had assisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the empire: he refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in their virulent libel, re-

concealed from you. Not to detain your express too long, I shall send you by the post copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry: it will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet full of tenderness for you, your, &c.'

'Blackenburg, Nov. 27, 1757.'

torted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and with respect to France justified every particular of his own conduct.

23. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Luneburg, divers petty enterprises were executed by detachments with various success: the Hanoverian general, Jun-
cheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlinburg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Achersleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halberstadt and its neighborhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions: general Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelsack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the duke de Broglio assembled a considerable corps of troops that were cantoned at Ottersburg, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country; and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening that in case of a refusal he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants severely, should they make the least opposition: when their deputies waited on him to desire a short time for deliberation, he answered,—‘Not a moment: the duke de Richelieu’s orders are peremptory, and admit of no delay.’ He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, resolved to comply with his demand: a second deputation was immediately despatched to the duke de Broglio, signifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promised on his honor that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration: prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, being joined by a body of Prussian horse under the command of prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February: the enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden; and

they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took possession of it without opposition.

24. By this time the court of Versailles, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the count de Clermont, to the general satisfaction of the army as well as the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression: the new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition by the accidents of war, and distempers arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries: as he could not pretend, with such a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the necessity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine: as the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their sick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and soldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were pursued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subjected to every species of violence and abuse; but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honor and integrity of the duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity almost without example: instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either sold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrors of famine; an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deserve or arbitrary monarchs bestow: the regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroic behavior on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the count de Clermont; and on the day of solemn thanksgiving to Heaven for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy, in their sermons, did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the

duke de Randan : such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endowed with sensibility ; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

25. The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about 4000 men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army : towards the latter end of February, prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the count de Chabot was posted with a considerable body of troops at Hoya, on the Weser, detached the hereditary prince of Brunswick, with four battalions and some light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighborhood : this enterprise was executed with the utmost intrepidity : the hereditary prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river ; and the enemy being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion : the bridge being abandoned, and near 700 men taken prisoners, the count de Chabot threw himself, with two battalions, into the castle, where he resolved to support himself, in hope of being relieved : the regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his assistance : the hereditary prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to besiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken ; he listened to the terms of the capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrison was suffered to march out with the honors of war ; but their cannon, stores, and ammunition were surrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the hereditary prince, whose valor and activity on many subsequent occasions shone with distinguished lustre : he had no sooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion : after the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head-quarters ; but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies ; and, leaving behind all his sick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling

in his march the troops that were in Emden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated: they were terribly harassed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggon and some artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighborhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country; while prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster; here, however, he did not long remain inactive: in the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duisburg, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon: in the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion; defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wesel: Kaiserswaert was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken, and prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp: in the mean time, the count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong intrenchments until he should be properly reinforced.

26. The court of Versailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not sit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained: they assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the prince de Soubise, who it was said had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnburg, into Bohemia: in the mean time, reinforcements daily arrived in the camp of the count de Clermont; and, as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by severity and example: the marshal duke de Belleisle, who now acted as

secretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the king's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions; an abuse, which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The prince of Clermont, having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river; and detached a considerable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after several motions on both sides, prince Ferdinand resolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose: he assigned the command of the whole left wing, consisting of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, to lieutenant-general Sporcken: the conduct of the right wing, composed of sixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was entrusted to the hereditary prince and major-general Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the prince of Holstein, while the hereditary prince commanded the infantry: the light-troops, consisting of five squadrons of hussars, were divided between the prince of Holstein and lieutenant-general Sporcken: major Luckner's squadron, together with Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbottle were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army: prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarrassed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected that part of the country. On the twenty-third of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Antony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt: the prince, having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Antony, procured guides; and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with

respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Antony, and in particular to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, prince Ferdinand, putting himself at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musketry, retired to their camp, and gave the alarm: in the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon with a severe cannonading on the part of prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover; he therefore determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms: the hereditary prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued: meanwhile, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse: after a terrible fire had been maintained on both sides till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry: these giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys: the success of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that side, while prince Ferdinand prosecuted his attack on the other quarter: it must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colors, and pieces of cannon, and 6000 men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.⁶ This victory

⁶ Among the French officers who lost their lives in this engage-

however, which cost the allies about 1500 men, was not at all decisive in its consequences; and indeed the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general: true it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorp, which prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honors of war, on condition that they should not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

27. It was at this period that count de Clermont resigned his command, which was conferred on M. de Contades, and the French army was considerably reinforced: he even threatened to attack prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made some motions with that design; but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Emden: he flattered himself that the prince of Ysemburg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau with a design to penetrate into the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel; his vanguard had been already surprised and defeated by the militia of the country, and the prince of Ysemburg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, assembled to oppose his farther progress: prince Ferdinand therefore hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himself, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse; transfer the seat of war into the enemy's country; thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the prince de Soubise to come to the assistance of the principal French army commanded by M. de Contades: he had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and in execution of it marched to Ruremond on the Maese, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee: the prince of Ysemburg

ment, was the count de Gisors, only son of the marshal duke de Belleisle, and last hope of that illustrious family; a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honor in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

was, on the twenty-third of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the duke de Broglie, whom the prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly superior to that which the Hessian general commanded: the duke de Broglie, who commanded the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubise's army, having learned at Cassel that the Hessian troops under the prince of Ysemburg were retiring towards Munden, advanced on the twenty-third of July with a body of 8000 men to the village of Sangarshausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack: at first his cavalry were repulsed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broken in their turn: the Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favor of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured: the dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground; but the duke de Broglie ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day: the Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way: part plunged into the river, where many perished; and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hussars, who took above 200 soldiers and fifty officers, including the count de Canitz, who was second in command: they likewise found on the field of battle seven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty considerable, and nearly equal on both sides: the number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded 2000; the loss of the Hessians was not so great: the prince of Ysemburg, having collected the remains of his little army, took post at Eimbeck, where he was soon reinforced, and found himself at the head of 12,000 men; but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

28. The progress of prince Ferdinand on the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine: the first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution therefore he found himself under a necessity to embrace: in his present position he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of

Gueldres, the garrison of which had been lately reinforced; as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subsistence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend that the prince de Soubise would endeavor to intercept the British troops in their march from Emden: induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made several motions for that purpose: finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and situated exactly in his route to the Rhine: this service was performed by the hereditary prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the passage of the army towards Rhinebergen: at this place prince Ferdinand received intelligence, that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons to join the garrison of Wesel, and fall on lieutenant-general Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees: his serene highness was extremely desirous of sending succors to general Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning, and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in such a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impassable, so that M. Imhoff was left to the resources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, consisting of six battalions and four squadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. The general, having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a considerable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of general Zastrow, who reinforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and resolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer: of this he had no sooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wesel, under the command of lieutenant-general de Chevert, consisting of the

whole corps intended for the siege of Dusseldorp: Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rising ground on his right, from whence he could discern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach: perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall on the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as soon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them in front: the bayonet was used on this occasion, and the charge given with such impetuosity and resolution, that after a short resistance the enemy fell into confusion, and fled towards Wesel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty considerable number, the victor took 354 prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas on his part the victory was purchased at a very small expense.

29. Immediately after this action, general Wangenheim passed the Rhine with several squadrons and battalions, to reinforce general Imhoff, and enable him to prosecute the advantage he had gained; while prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen, from whence he proceeded to Rhineburg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen: the enemy had contrived four vessels for the destruction of this bridge, but they were all taken before they could put the design into execution; and the whole army passed on the tenth of August, without any loss or farther interruption: at the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusseldorp, of which the French immediately took possession. Immediately after his passage, he received a letter from the duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt; to which place general Imhoff was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment: notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were so equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign: M. de Contades, seeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over prince Ferdinand, detached prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong reinforcement to the prince de Soubise,

who had taken possession of Gottingen, and seemed determined to attack the prince of Ysemburg at Eimbeck: that this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, prince Ferdinand detached general Oberg with 10,000 men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians: the whole body, when thus reinforced, did not exceed 20,000 men, of whom general Oberg now assumed the command; whereas the troops of Soubise were increased to the number of 30,000. The allies had taken post on the river Fulde at Sangarshausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the design of Soubise was first to dislodge them from that advantageous situation: with this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden: in order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, general Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, passing by the village of Landwernhausen, advanced towards Luttenburg, where understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket on an eminence, where he planted five field pieces: the cavalry supported the wings in a third line; the village of Luttenburg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rising ground that flanked this village: the French having likewise passed Landwernhausen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a severe cannonading, and at the same time the first line of their infantry attacked major-general Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies: this body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank: these were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and general Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he suffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the duke de Broglie: having marched through Munden by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other side

of the Weser; but at daybreak prosecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighborhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped. In this engagement general Oberg lost about 1500 men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition: he was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor; but, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

30. By this time prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster; while M. de Contades encamped near Ham on the Lippe: so that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and distemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they sustained a defeat; yet they were soon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavors, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters; extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprics of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim: the British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to signalise themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had severely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munster, universally lamented.

31. Having thus particularised the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavor to trace the steps of the king of Prussia from the period at which his army was assembled for action: having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first of March; and carried on his operations with such vigor, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after having lost one half of their number in the defence of the place: while one part of his troops were engaged in this service, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenau, garrisoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army: by this success he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which

he poured in detachments of light troops, to raise contributions, and harass the outposts of the enemy: at the same time the baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian general, Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Konigsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of marshal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna:⁷ over and above these excursions, the king ordered a body of 30,000 men to be assembled, to act under the command of his brother prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the empire, which the prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

32. The king of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution: having formed an army of 50,000 choice troops, near Neiss, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by marshal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau: in the latter end of April they began their march towards Moravia; and general de la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong reinforcement into Olmutz, which the king was determined to besiege: had he passed by this fortress, which was strongly fortified and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the emperor to the necessity of suing for peace on his own terms; but it seems he was unwilling to deviate so far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear, and therefore he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed: for this purpose it was immediately in-

⁷ At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden being admitted into the Japan palace, to see the curious porcelain with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found 3000 tents and other field utensils: these had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: they were immediately seized by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of prince Henry's army.

vested; orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and marshal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the siege: meanwhile the Austrian commander, count Daun, being informed of his Prussian majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomysel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa: being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighborhood of the king's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous situation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked: here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful supplies and received daily reinforcements: his scheme was to relieve the besieged occasionally; to harass the besiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silesia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish: Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and so peculiarly situated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; so that in some parts they were easily forced by detachments in the night, who fell on them suddenly, and seldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition: the forage in the neighborhood of the city having been previously destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue, and liable to surprise; and, in a word, the Prussians were not very expert in the art of town-taking.

33. Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances without hazarding a battle, to which the king provoked him in vain: while the garrison made repeated sallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harassed their foraging parties, fell on different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm: nevertheless the king finished his first parallel, and proceeded with such vigor, as seemed to promise a speedy reduction of the place, when his design was intirely frustrated by an untoward incident: marshal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had set out from Silesia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seize this opportunity of compelling the king to desist from his enterprise: he sent general Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with instructions to attack the convoy on different sides; while

he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle: the king of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately despatched general Ziethen, with a strong reinforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions and about 4000 men, who had been sick, and were just recovered: before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twenty-eighth of June, but the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss: marshal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately reinforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect: 400 waggons, guarded by four battalions and about 1000 troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every side; the communication between the head and the rest of the convoy was cut off; and general Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above 600 prisoners, together with general Putkammer; and the king of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprise: this was a mortifying necessity for a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by general Marshal, the governor: nothing now remained but to raise the siege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to seize every opportunity of advantage; a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and success. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by marshal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posnitz, in order to succor Olmutz the more effectually: after the king had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his design from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, prosecuted the operations of the siege with redoubled vigor till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia: he himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz; and marshal Keith, having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his

Prussian majesty had gained an intire march on the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harass his army in their retreat; but their endeavors were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders: after the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, general Laschi, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment of grenadiers, who were soon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomysel, where they seized a magazine of meal and forage: in the mean time, general de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but marshal Keith coming up, ordered him to be attacked in the rear; and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the loss of six officers and 300 men, who were taken prisoners: while the marshal was thus employed, the king proceeded from Leutomysel to Konigsgratz, where general Buccow, who had got the start of him, was posted with 7000 men behind the Elbe, and in the intrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city: the Prussian troops as they arrived passed over the little river Adler; and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the king ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian intrenchments; but general Buccow did not wait for his approach: he abandoned his intrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; so that the king took possession of the most important post of Konigsgratz without farther opposition: an Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person; and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with 1500 sick and wounded men, arrived in safety at Konigsgratz, where the whole army encamped: his intention was to transfer the seat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions; but a powerful motive soon obliged him to change his resolution.

34. After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the czarina seemed ready to change her system, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, promises,

presents, and intrigues, attached her in all appearance more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch: she not only signed her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the empress-queen and the kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, count Bestuchef, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into separate bodies, under the command of the generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter: Fermer accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-second his light troops took possession of Konigsburg, the capital of Prussia, without opposition; for the king's forces had quitted that country, in order to prosecute the war in the western parts of Pomerania: they did not, however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some districts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzic: the resident of the czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison; a demand, which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence: at length, after some negociation with general Fermer, the affair was compromised: he desisted from the demand; and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eastern part of which count Dohna had assembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress: but after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and general Fermer, turning to the left, advanced to Silesia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Posna: by the first of July, both bodies had reached the frontiers of Silesia, and some of their cossacks, penetrating into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation: count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even passed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle; but he was too much inferior in number to hazard such a step, which became an object of his sovereign's own personal attention. Marshal Daun had followed the king into Bohemia, and on the twenty-second of

July encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage: nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the designs, embarrass the genius, and check the impetuosity of the Prussian monarch: he was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, distinguished by the epithet of Cunctator: he possessed all the vigilance, caution, and sagacity of that celebrated Roman: like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harassing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable foe; and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to seize with equal courage and celerity.

35. The king of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Russians in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth of July quitted the camp at Konigsgratz: he was attended in his march by 3000 Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear; but, notwithstanding these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth of August arrived at Landshut: from thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by lieutenant-general Dohna at Gorgas: then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise; and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzal, where he encamped: the Russians, under general Fermer, were posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker and their left to Quertchem. The king, being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning; and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf: the Russians, by whom he was outnumbered, did not decline the dispute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every side, defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the assault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered: before the enemy could take advantage of

this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of general Seydlitz; and the king, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack: this began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both sides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length, general Seydlitz, having routed the Russian cavalry, fell on the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military chest and great part of their baggage: notwithstanding this loss, which had greatly disordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havoc was made among them, not only with the sword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution: towards evening, the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been intirely routed, had they not been favored by the approaching darkness, as well as by a particular operation which was very gallantly performed: one of the Russian generals, perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a select body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prussians: this effort diverted their attention so strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more easily assembled. In this battle they are said to have lost about 15,000 men, thirty-seven colors, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above 100 pieces of cannon: among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were several general officers; and a good number lost their lives on the field of battle: the victory cost the king above 2000 men, including some officers of distinction, particularly two aides-de-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all resistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy: it must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian soldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peasants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of

war could not authorise.⁸ The Prussian army passed the night under arms, and next morning the cannonade was

⁸ A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horror: they not only burned a great number of villages; but they ravished, rifled, murdered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity: they even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held sacred among the most savage nations: at Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the generals Schlaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there: but the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the new march of Brandenburg, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about fifteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befel this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness:—

‘ On the thirteenth of August, about three o’clock in the afternoon, a sudden report was spread that a body of Russian hussars and cossacks appeared in sight of the little suburb: all the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terror, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Russian army was advancing from Meseric and Konigswalda, by the way of Landsburg: a reinforcement was immediately sent to our piquet-guard in the suburb, amounting by this junction to 300 men, who were soon attacked by the enemy; and the skirmish lasted from four till seven o’clock in the evening: during this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of distinction mounted on English horses, reconnoitring our fortification through perspective glasses: they retired, however, when our cannon began to fire; then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb; and the reinforcement we had sent from the city returned, after having broken down the bridge over the Oder: next day, count Dohna, who commanded the army near Frankfort, sent in a reinforcement of four battalions, ten squadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of lieutenant-general Scherlemmer; the hussars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little suburb; the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburbs and fortification; and the rest of the dragoons remained in the field to cover the long suburb: general Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, colonel Schuck, went with a small party to observe the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were pursued by the cossacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o’clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the cannon, intermingled with the dismal shrieks and hideous yellings of the cossacks belonging to the Russian army: alarmed at this horrid noise, I ascended the church-steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extending

renewed against the enemy, who nevertheless maintained that position without flinching: on the twenty-seventh,

from the little suburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops; and our light horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars: at eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose van consisted of 4000 or 5000 men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighborhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preceding evening: from these they now played on our piquet-guard and hussars, who were obliged to retire: they then fired, *en ricochet*, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat: having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city such a number of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was set on fire in three different places; and the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavors to extinguish it proved ineffectual: at this time the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hail, and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives by running into the open fields: the whole place was filled with terror and consternation, and resounded with the shrieks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells, which bursting, tore in pieces every thing that stood in their way: as I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and servants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt. Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a sight of the wretched people, flying in crowds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the sky with their lamentations: many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets: when my family had reached the open plain, I endeavored to return and save some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some sick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends through a most dreadful scene of horror and desolation: a great number of families from the open country, and the defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects when the Russians first entered the king's territories: these, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago possessed considerable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighboring towns and villages were soon crowded with the people of Custrin; the roads were filled with objects of misery; and nothing was seen but nakedness and despair; nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction: for my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrin is now in a heap of ruins: the great magazine, the governor's

they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors: instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsburg; but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted themselves between the rivers Warta and that village: immediately after the battle, general Fermer,⁹ who had received a slight wound in the action, sent a trumpet, with a letter to lieutenant-general Dohna, desiring a suspension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead and take care of the wounded; and presenting to his Prussian majesty the humble request of general Browne, who was much weakened with the loss of blood, that he might have a passport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his situation required: in answer to this message, count Dohna gave the Russian general to understand, that as his Prussian majesty remained master of the field, he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both sides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of general Browne; and concluded his letter by complaining of the

house, the church, the palace, the store and artillery-houses, in a word, the old and new towns, the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes; nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the piles and starlings were burned to the water's edge: the writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the country, were totally consumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at 4,000,000 crowns: the cannon in the arsenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion: a great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in subterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for safety.'

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than such vengeance wreaked on the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cossacks are said to have plundered and burned fourteen large towns and 200 villages, and wantonly butchered above 2000 defenceless women and children: such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beasts, without pity or cessation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

⁹ General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually a native of North Britain.

outrages which the Russian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the king's villages.

36. The king of Prussia had no sooner repulsed the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another: when he quitted Bohemia, marshal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to surround the king's brother, prince Henry, who without immediate succor would not have been able to preserve his footing in Saxony; the Prussian monarch therefore determined to support him with all possible expedition: in a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a reinforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and pursued his route with such unwearied diligence, that by the fifth of September he reached Torgau, and on the eleventh joined his brother: marshal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preserve an easy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighborhood of Konigstein, to favor the operations of general Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lusatia to the frontiers of Brandenburg, to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the generals Harsche and de Ville, and to interrupt the communication between prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Konigstein surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble resistance, to the prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna: when the king of Prussia therefore arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and marshal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe; so that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage: he had no other resolution to take, but that of endeavoring to cut them off from supplies of provision; and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied: this motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau; yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to seize the first favorable occasion of executing the resolution he had formed to attack the Prussians. The king, having detached general Ratzow on his left, to take possession

of Weissenburg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighborhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village: matters were now brought to such a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winter-quarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony: in this situation marshal Daun resolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Prussians by surprise: this measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Prussians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies: he determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important service; well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability intirely ruined: having taken his measures with wonderful secresy and circumspection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favored by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the night: their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down on the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in pieces the free companies posted there: the action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury; for, notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who with admirable expedition and presence of mind assembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without distinction of regiment, place, or precedence: while the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrors of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the king being alarmed, exerted all his personal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from disorder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, reinforcing weak posts, encouraging the soldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression on the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, marshal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the king, made another

attack on the left, which was with difficulty sustained, and effectually prevented him from sending reinforcements to the right, where marshal Keith, under the greatest disadvantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeavors: thus the battle raged till nine in the morning, when this gallant officer was shot through the heart: prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate; prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken prisoner, and many others were either slain or disabled. As the right wing had been surprised, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence: the soldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive reinforcements and redoubled resolution; and a considerable slaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All these circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the king was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of 7000 men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage: nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory: his loss of men was pretty nearly equal to that of the Prussian monarch; and whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his design did not take effect in its full extent, for the Prussians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement: the king of Prussia had sustained no damage which he could not easily repair, except the death of marshal Keith, which was doubtless an irreparable misfortune.¹⁰

¹⁰ As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority, of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and a report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, that he was surprised in his tent, naked, and half-asleep; we think it the duty of a candid historian to vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen some other character from the imputation of misconduct: the task we are enabled to perform by a gentleman of candor and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was eye-witness of the whole transaction. Field-marshal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day that preceded the battle, disapproved of the situation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the king on that subject: in consequence of his advice, a certain general was sent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of

37. His Prussian majesty remained with his army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeavored to bring

Hochkirchen, but by some fatality he miscarried: marshal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with prince Francis of Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major: when the first alarm was given in the night, he instantly mounted his horse, assembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked: the Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was sent to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon; then they made themselves masters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had been posted. Marshal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Austrian general; and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts: he in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in his turn: he rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place: being again repulsed by fresh reinforcements of the enemy, he made another effort; entered the village a third time; and finding it untenable, ordered it to be set on fire: thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Prussians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat: during the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenadiers: he found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspire the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example: even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to signalise himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a second shot in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign: this gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the marshal, being uncertain whether he was intirely deprived of life: his request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer: he afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horseback, when Mr. Tibay told him the field-marshal was lying wounded on the field: he asked if his wounds were mortal; and the other answering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without farther question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undistinguished on the field of battle: in this situation it was perceived by count Lasce, son of the general of that name, with whom marshal Keith had served in Russia:

the Austrians to a second engagement; but count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery: his aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his side, he would not hazard another battle on equal terms with such an enterprising enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already reinforced from the army of prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been snatched from him by the wiles of stratagem rather than by the hand of valor. Count Daun, having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amusing the Prussian monarch in Lusatia, while the Austrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested: as the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he resolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person: with this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and, in sight of the enemy, marched to Gorlitz without the least interruption: from thence he proceeded towards Silesia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavors and activity of general Laudohn, who harassed the rear of the Prussians, and gained some petty advantages over them: count Daun not only sent his detached corps to retard them in their march; but, at the same time, by another route, detached a strong reinforcement to the army of the besiegers: in the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of prince Henry in Saxony was con-

this young count had been the marshal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service: he recognised the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which general Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Oczakow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honored master thus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse: he forthwith caused the body to be covered and interred: it was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen, and finally removed to Berlin by order of the king of Prussia, who bestowed on it those funeral honors that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

siderably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the king's absence: indeed, his designs were still more extensive; for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsic, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction, the second by the army of the empire under the prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under general Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the king from Lusatia: in execution of this plan, he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna, and advanced to Dresden, which he hoped would surrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal siege: the army of prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital before the prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipsic, and even invested that city: during these transactions, general Haddick advanced against Torgau.

38. The field-marshal count Daun appearing on the sixth of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of 60,000 men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese: count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to 10,000 men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pell-mell, posted colonel Itzenplitz, with 700 men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts and command the city, he prepared combustibles, and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as soon as an Austrian should appear within the place: this must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe: in these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Prussian governor; and represented in the most submissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrors of devastation: in vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare

that last refuge of distressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure residence, since they were deprived of every other comfort: he continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the hussars, drove the independent battalions into the suburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played on the town: the governor, expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had set fire to the suburbs: at three in the morning, the signal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful suburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts: every bosom warmed with benevolence must be affected at the recital of such calamities: it excites not only our compassion for the unhappy sufferers, but also our resentment against the perpetrators of such enormity. Next day marshal Daun sent an officer to count Schmettau, with a message, expressing his surprise at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal residence; an act of inhumanity unheard of among christians: he desired to know if it was by the governor's order this measure was taken; and assured him, that he should be responsible in his person for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family resided: Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended intirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governor) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city: he excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorised by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity: indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, or if no other step could have saved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations; but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which

he derived from illegal force and violence ; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of sacrificing the place to his own safety, inasmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honorable capitulation, which however he did not demand : whether the peremptory order of a superior will, *in foro conscientiæ*, justify an officer who has committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with 150,000 armed men in his retinue : be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the diet of the empire, complaining of it as an action reserved for the history of the war which the king of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages : he affirmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders, the soldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witschen suburbs, broken open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors ; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets ; that the wretched inhabitants, who forsook their burning houses, were slain by the fire of the cannon and small arms ; that those who endeavored to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prussian soldiers posted in the streets for that purpose ; he enumerated particular instances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of 250 elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation ; but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exaggerated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance : baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburg, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alleged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates, under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of Dresden : the most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication, was the conclusion, in which the baron solemnly assured the diet, that the king of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of soul and the most exquisite concern at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrors of war, by which so

many thousand fellow-creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his sincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with such bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided: he therefore declared that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil on the flames, must answer to God for the seas of blood that had been and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the intire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, feeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition: it would be happy, however, for mankind, were princes taught to believe that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging Power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is at least as criminal as a private murder.

39. While count Daun was employed in making a fruitless attempt on the capital of Saxony, the king of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third of October: the operations of the siege were carried on with great vigor by the Austrian general de Harsche, and the place was as vigorously defended by the Prussian governor Theskau, till the first of November, when the Prussian monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprise. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the king detached general Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned: de Harsche retired to Bohemia, and de Ville hovered about Jagernsdorf. The fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved, than the king of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required: at the same time, the two bodies, under the generals Dohna and Wedel, penetrated by different routes into that country: the former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even crossed that river at Thorn; and the other had, during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now intirely evacuated the Prussian territories; so that Wedel was at liberty to co-operate with the king in Saxony: he accordingly marched to

Torgau, the siege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general, Haddick, who was repulsed by Wedel, and even pursued to the neighborhood of Eulenburg: Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with considerable loss, and then raised the siege of Leipsic: meanwhile, the king prosecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau: on the tenth of November count Daun retired from Dresden, and with the army of the empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the king arrived in that city, where he approved of the governor's conduct. The Russian general, foreseeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltic, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached general Palmbach, with 15,000 men, to besiege the town of Colburg, an inconsiderable place, very meanly fortified: it was accordingly invested on the third of October; but the besiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or so little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for six and twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprise, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valor of the Prussian monarch, his generals and officers, six sieges were raised almost at the same period; namely, those of Colburg, Neiss, Cosel, Torgau, Leipsic, and Dresden.

40. The variety of fortune which the king of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct and the rapidity of his motions were altogether without example: in the former campaign we were dazzled with the lustre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in stemming the different torrents of adversity, and rising superior to his evil fortune: one can hardly without astonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harassed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of 100 miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in spite of his disaster at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Konigsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing

march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Russians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and superior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions intire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of consummate skill and undaunted resolution: his character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage; but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct: incensed by the persecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Russians had committed in his dominions were retaliated on the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony: in the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipsic, requiring them, in the king's name, to pay a new contribution of 600,000 crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution: in answer to this demand, the magistrates represented that the city, having been exhausted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing farther supplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined; and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression: at five in the morning the Prussian soldiers assembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cemeteries, towers, and steeples: then the gates being shut, in order to exclude the populace of the suburbs from the city, the senators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by general Hauss, who told them the king his master would have money; and if they refused to part with it, the city should be plundered: to this peremptory address they replied to this effect:—'We have no more money; we have nothing left but life; and we recommend ourselves to the king's mercy.' In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for

giving up the city to be plundered: cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations: the dreadful pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction: a party of soldiers, commanded by a subaltern, went from house to house, signifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without farther hesitation: about six in the evening the soldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and consternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the king of Prussia first entered Saxony at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no design to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a deposit for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but on his last arrival at Dresden he adopted a new resolution: in the beginning of December, the Prussian directory of war issued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly settled; at the same time signifying, that though the king of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would consider it in no other light than that of a conquered country: the Russians had seized in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the king's officers; a retaliation was now made on the effects of the Saxon officers, who served in the Russian army: seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warsaw at a very short warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the king of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity: he surrounded the exchange with soldiers; and confining the merchants to straw beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large sums on their foreign correspondents;—a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a

different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighborhood and religion: even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conquered, who by submitting to his sway would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection: to retaliate on the Saxons, who had espoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Russians, with whom he was actually at war; and to treat as a conquered province a neutral country, which his enemies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms;—was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

41. Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularise the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of count Hamilton: we have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Prussian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralsund, which was likewise invested: this, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities; and his successor, count Dohna, been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other side of Pomerania: the blockade of Stralsund being consequently raised, and that part of the country intirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired; but the supplies and reinforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in such a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the season was elapsed before they undertook any important enterprise: indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralsund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period seemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change

in the ministry: at length the reinforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigor. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he sent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accordingly: count Hamilton having nothing farther to oppose him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedish Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories: meanwhile, a combined fleet of thirty-three Russian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltic, and anchored between the islands of Dragoë and Amagh; but they neither landed troops nor committed hostilities: the Swedish general advanced as far as Fehrbellin, sent out parties that raised contributions within five and twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The king of Prussia, alarmed at their progress, despatched general Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; so that, on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with 11,000 effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against count Hamilton; while the prince of Bevern, with 5000, advanced to the other side from Stetin: at their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of 1400 men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army: the place was immediately attacked by general Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners: the body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Prussian territories, and returned to the neighborhood of Stralsund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen: count Hamilton, either disgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himself unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and resigned all his other employments.

42. The king of Prussia was not only favored by a considerable party in Sweden, but he had also raised a strong interest in Poland among such palatines as had always opposed the measures of the reigning family: these were

now reinforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity and suspected the designs of the Russian army: the diet of the republic was opened on the second of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected marshal; but no sooner had the chambers of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raised against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages sustained from their cruelty and rapine: great pains were taken to appease these clamors, and many were prevailed on to refer these grievances to the king in senate; but when this difficulty seemed almost surmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhynia, stood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet, while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republic: vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to persuade and mollify this inflexible patriot; he solemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the marshal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse was had to a *senatus-consultum*, to concert proper measures to be taken in the present conjuncture. The king of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his son, prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland: he had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred: the states declared, they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the king and republic of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburg confession: his Polish majesty, however, being determined to surmount all obstacles to his son's interest, ordered count Malachowski, high chancellor of Poland, to deliver to prince Charles a diploma, by which the king granted permission to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment; which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamor of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the king had no power to grant such permission without the consent of the diet. The vicissitudes of the campaign had produced

no revolutions in the several systems adopted by the different powers in Europe: the czarina, who in the month of June had signified her sentiments and designs against the king of Prussia in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburg, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the empress-queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate king of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the imperial ministers at the several courts of the empire copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals since the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of self-approbation to this effect:—‘ Though the issue of the campaign be not as yet intirely satisfactory, and such as might be desired, the imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the change of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause; and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected.’

43. We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulic council of the empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all imperial towns, and the noblesse of the empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact list of all those who had disobeyed the *avocatoria* of the empire, and adhered to the rebellion raised by the elector of Brandenburg; that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honors, persons, and effects: as the elector of Hanover was plainly pointed out, and indeed expressly mentioned in this decree, the king of Great Britain, by the hands of baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of the empire in the month of November, enumerating the instances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandisement of the house of Austria: in return for these important services, he observed, that the empress-queen had refused him the assistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn on himself by his friendship to that princess; and his imperial majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he solicited: that the court of Vienna had signed a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined

by the troops of the empress-queen, who ravaged his Britannic majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practised; and the same duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her imperial majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that she sent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from that electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Luneburg: that his imperial majesty, who had sworn to protect the empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the king of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that the French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their sovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colors, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body, honor, and estate; and that the king of England himself was threatened with the ban of the empire: he took notice, that in quality of elector, he had been accused of refusing to concur with the resolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the king of Prussia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the empire, sending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Emden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany: in answer to these imputations, he alleged that he could not, consistent with his own safety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the king of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command had been conferred without a previous conclusion of the Germanic body; that, with respect to his alliance with the king of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to seek assistance wheresoever it could be procured; and surely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunswick-Wolfen-

buttle, Hesse, and Buckeburg from the oppressions of their common enemy: posterity, he said, would hardly believe, that at a time, when the troops of Austria, the palatinate, and Wirtemberg were engaged to invade the countries of the empire, other members of the Germanic body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequestration: he owned, that, in quality of king, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Emden; steps, for which he was accountable to no power on earth, although the constitutions of the empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and preservation: he also acknowledged that he had resented the conduct and chastised the injustice of those co-estates who had assisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the duke of Brunswick and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, because they had supplied the king of England with auxiliaries; if the empress-queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French king in these countries; surely his Britannic majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burden of the war who had favored the unjust enterprises of his enemies: he expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duly considered these circumstances, would, by way of advice, propose to his imperial majesty that he should annul his most inconsistent mandates; and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the empress-queen, as archduchess of Austria, the elector palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, such proceedings as she wanted to enforce against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswick-Luneburg: for this purpose the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannic majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the king of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and entitled, 'a parallel of the conduct of the king of France with that of the king of England, relative to the breach of the capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians:' but

to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published; in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the king of Great Britain after the defeat at Kolin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose on the public. The author also, in his endeavors to demonstrate his Britannic majesty's aversion to a continental war, very justly observes, that 'none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea: England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the same reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different system: accordingly, she took no pains to conceal her views; and her envoys declared publicly, that a war on the continent was inevitable, and that the king's dominions in Germany would be its principal object.' He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, 'that they must be very ignorant indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the sea: in case of a war on the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies, only with this difference; that France can employ her own land forces, and aspire at conquests.' Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry, founded on eternal truth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great Britain to maintain a war on the continent; but afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation; then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an overmatch for France by sea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependents were taught to rise in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflection, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments assembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the empress-queen, and demon-

strate the oppressive measures adopted by the imperial power; it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when reinforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

44. If the empress-queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princess famed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome: in the month of August the pope conferred on her the title of apostolical queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predecessors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholic faith under this holy banner: this compliment, however, she did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV.: that pontiff, universally esteemed for his good sense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Charles Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian: he was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republic of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Coeli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers; and nominated protector of the Pandours or Illyrians: when he ascended the papal chair, he assumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor: though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health and a vigorous constitution: as an ecclesiastic his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached: in his character he is said to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

45. The king of Spain wisely persisted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partisans at the court of Madrid, who endeavored to alarm his jealousy by the conquests which the English

had projected in America : the king of Sardinia sagaciously kept aloof, resolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seize all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown and the advantage of his country : as for the king of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance ; but in the latter end of the season his attention was engrossed by a domestic incident of a very extraordinary nature : whether he had, by particular instances of severity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in such acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility ; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the resentment of that society, we shall not pretend to determine : perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third of September, the king, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestic, was in the night, at a solitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with muskets, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect : the man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his sovereign, drove the mules at full speed ; a circumstance, which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop ; and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage : the slugs with which they were loaded happened to pass between the king's right arm and his breast, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body : finding himself grievously wounded, and the blood flowing apace, he, with such presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal surgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dressed : by this resolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood ; but, without all doubt, saved his life from the hands of other assassins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack : this instance of the king's recol-

lection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favorable interposition of Providence. The king, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the queen with the absolute power of government: in the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and surgeons: an embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon: rewards were publicly offered, together with the promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the assassins; and such other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered;—a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the count de Attougui, the marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the assassination, as principals in the design; and many other accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in the sequel: the farther proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularised among the transactions of the following year: at present, it will be sufficient to observe, that the king's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

46. The domestic occurrences of France were tissue with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull *Unigenitus*: in vain the king had interposed his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognisance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power: he afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and reinstate those venerable patriots; and being convinced of the intolerable insolence and turbulent spirit of the archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn: he was no sooner readmitted to his function, than he resumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the sacraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull *Unigenitus*: he even acted with redoubled

zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom: bishops, curates, and monks presumed to withhold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in asserting their authority and privileges: the king commanded them to desist, on pain of incurring his indignation: they remonstrated and persevered; while the archbishop repeated his injunctions and censures, and continued to inflame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the capital if he did not proceed with more moderation. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of credit for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the war in Europe and America: in the course of this year they had not only considerably reinforced their armies in Germany, but made surprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, for its defence against the operations of the British forces, which greatly outnumbered the French on the continent. The court of Versailles practised every stratagem to elude the vigilance of the English cruisers: the ships destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, sometimes from the Mediterranean, sometimes from their harbors in the channel: they assembled transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys lay ready for sailing; and in boisterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbors, their store-ships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements: those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Lawrence: they either ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, so early in the spring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbor of Nova Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfoundland for such thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruisers in sailing up the gulf; or, lastly, they penetrated through the straits of Belleisle, a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Lawrence, at a considerable distance above the station of the

British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time so reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoys for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great Britain with the project of an invasion: flat-bottomed boats were built, transports collected, large ships of the line equipped, and troops ordered to assemble on the coast for embarkation; but this was no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the English, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from sending forces to keep alive the war in Germany: a much more effectual method they took to distress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of stout privateers, which did considerable damage to the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruising in the seas of Europe and America: some of them lay close in the harbors of the channel, fronting the coast of England; and darted out occasionally on the trading ships of this nation, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpose: some chose their station in the north sea, where a great number of captures were made on the coast of Scotland; others cruised in the chops of the channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but the far greater number scoured the seas in the neighborhood of the Leeward Islands in the West-Indies, where they took a prodigious number of British ships sailing to and from the sugar colonies, and conveyed them to their own settlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

47. With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the king of Denmark wisely pursued that course, which happily preserved him from being involved in those troubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people: by observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbors; he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers; he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects; he received large subsidies, in consideration of his forbearance; and enjoyed, unmolested, a much more considerable share of commerce than he could expect to carry on even in times of universal tranquillity: he could not perceive that the protestant religion had any thing to apprehend from the confederacy which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor was he misled into all the expense, the perils, and dis-

quiets of a sanguinary war, by that *ignis fatuus*, which has seduced and impoverished other opulent nations, under the specious title of the balance of power in Germany: howsoever he might be swayed by private inclination, he did not think it was a point of consequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, or penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover; whether the empress-queen was stripped of her remaining possessions in Silesia, or the king of Prussia circumscribed within the original bound of his dominion: he took it for granted that France, for her own sake, would prevent the ruin of that enterprising monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitic and blind to its own interest as to permit the empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the empire: but even if these powers should be weak enough to sacrifice all the maxims of sound policy to caprice or resentment, he did not think himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlong into a war that must be attended with certain and immediate disadvantages. True it is, he had no hereditary electorate in Germany that was threatened with invasion; nor, if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacity and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom of Denmark for the precarious defence of a distant territory: it was reserved for another nation to adopt the pernicious absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting its revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous impositions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankruptcy and ruin; in a word, of expending above £150,000,000 sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the intire property of which was never valued at one twentieth part of that sum; a country, with which it had no natural connexion, but a common alliance arising from accident. The king of Denmark, though himself a prince of the empire, and possessed of dominions in Germany almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the issue as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel; yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land on a respectable footing; and by this conduct, he not only provided for the security of his own country, but overawed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale pre-

ponderate, just as he might choose to trim the balance: thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence undiminished; and, instead of being harassed as a party, was honored as an umpire.

48. The United Provinces, though as adverse as his Danish majesty to any participation in the war, did not however so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed; at least, the traders of that republic, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret bias in favor of the enemies of Great Britain, assisted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant partiality: we have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruisers, and condemned as legal prizes for having French property on board; that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the states for redress in very high terms, and even loudly clamored for a war against Great Britain. The charge of violence and injustice, which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year 1668, stipulating, 'that whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great Britain, shall be free and unmolested, except these be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner described by the foregoing articles.' From this article the Dutch merchants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods on board, the English had no right to stop or molest any of their ships, or make the least inquiry to whom the merchandise belonged, whence it was brought, or whither bound. This plea the English casuists would by no means admit, for the following reasons:—a general and perpetual license to carry on the whole trade of their enemy would be such a glaring absurdity as no convention could authorise: common sense has dictated, and Grotius declared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an absurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its true and genuine meaning; which, indeed relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usually

carried on in time of peace: but, even should this interpretation be accepted, the article and the treaty itself would be superseded and annulled by a subsequent treaty, concluded between the two nations in the year 1675, and often confirmed since that period, stipulating, in a secret article, that neither of the contracting parties should give nor consent, that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favor, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, moneys, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessities for making war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever: now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the present war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have so openly contravened one treaty, the English are not obliged to observe any other: they moreover forfeited all right to the observance of the treaty in question, by refusing the succors, with which they were bound, in the most solemn manner, to furnish the king of Great Britain in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked; for nothing could be more weak and frivolous than the allegation on which this refusal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seized and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggressors, had no right to insist on the succors stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no signification: the French, as in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing reinforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be taken on the European seas, perhaps in consequence of their being exposed for that purpose; they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive treaty subsisting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces: it being impossible for the English to terminate the war while their enemies derive the sinews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, they are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that necessity which Grotius himself has allowed to be a sufficient excuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatsoever: in time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted to carry the

produce of any French sugar island, or even to trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently, the treaty which they quote can never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, as it did not exist, and was not foreseen, could not possibly be guarded against when that convention was ratified: Grotius, whose authority is held in such veneration among the Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right to seize and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is blocked up by that nation, either by land or sea: the French islands in the West-Indies were so blocked up by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief from their own government; consequently no neutral power could attempt to supply them without falling under this predicament.¹¹ It was for these reasons that the king of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference held in the month of August with the deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their high-mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union; he was nevertheless determined not to suffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality; nor to permit words to be interpreted as a license to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist

¹¹ In the reign of king William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark attempted to carry on the French commerce under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and English joined in seizing the vessels that were thus employed: complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague; and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that these should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace: in consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the design of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorff, who signified his sentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes on that author's treatise on the Law of Nature and Nations.

in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandise of their enemies: the individual traders of every mercantile nation will run considerable risk in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country: in the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchant ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and, notwithstanding the repeated solicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed on to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war: the truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffic, their subjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expense at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped considerable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also for providing both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-General or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality on a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of self-interest, which co-operate with the same energy in Holland and among the subjects of Great Britain. In the course of the former war, such a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, slaves, and lumber from Ireland and the British colonies in North-America; and Martinique, in particular, must have surrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffic by the article of a treaty, which in their opinion admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great Britain, without any previous warning, or explaining its sentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all their vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them without mitigation, to the intire ruin of many thousand families: considering the intimate connexion of mutual interest subsisting between Great Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they seem to have had some right to

an intimation of this nature, which in all probability would have induced them to resign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such traffic.

49. Besides the universal clamor excited in Holland, and the famous memorial presented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times successively on the princess-regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce: she promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great Britain; and those co-operating with representations made by the States-General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation: these endeavors however proved ineffectual: the British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch vessels containing the produce of the French sugar islands: the merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamor; and all the trading part of the nation, reinforced by the whole party that opposed the house of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprisals on the pirates of England. The princess, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employ all her personal influence with the States-General, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation: as far back as the month of June, she presented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England, she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republic from invasion: she gave them to understand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overysse, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had resolved to demand that the augmentation of their land forces should be taken into consideration by the other provinces, and requested her to reinforce their solicitations that this measure might immediately take place: this request, she said, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be sensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republic, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine, and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring

into the territories of the republic if it should be defeated ; for, in that case, the conqueror, being authorised to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country : this representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the present state of their trade with the most anxious concern ; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by sea and land, were not now on a better footing : the deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land forces and the equipment of a fleet were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness ; that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas innumerable reasons rendered the equipment of a fleet a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the princess, in an assembly of the States-General, requested their high-mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West Friesland to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by sea and land had not hitherto met with success, they would now consider and deliberate on some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to satisfy the strong and well-grounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen ; and, on the other, to comply with the ardent and just desires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country : she told them, that the deputation which waited on her consisted of forty merchants ; a number, that merited attention no less than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country : without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negociation begun with Great Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown : from this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the proposal for augmenting the forces both by sea and land ;—a measure, without which

she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain, exposed to all sorts of misfortune and danger both now and hereafter.

50. In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that same day sent a letter to the states of Holland and West Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the princess-regent, and insisting on the necessity of complying with her proposal of the double augmentation: they observed, that an augmentation of the land forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce; that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen joined with them in the same opinion, and accordingly had insisted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the public interest: they represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the sentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republic, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition both by sea and land, and depend on the arbitrary power of its neighbors: they conjured them, therefore, as they valued the safety of their country, and all that was dear to them; as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity; that they would seriously reflect on the exhortations of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates, and take a wise and salutary resolution with regard to the proposed augmentation of the land forces; so that this addition, together with an equipment at sea, might, the sooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by resentment, endeavored at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great Britain: had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republic would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin: the Dutch were distracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was

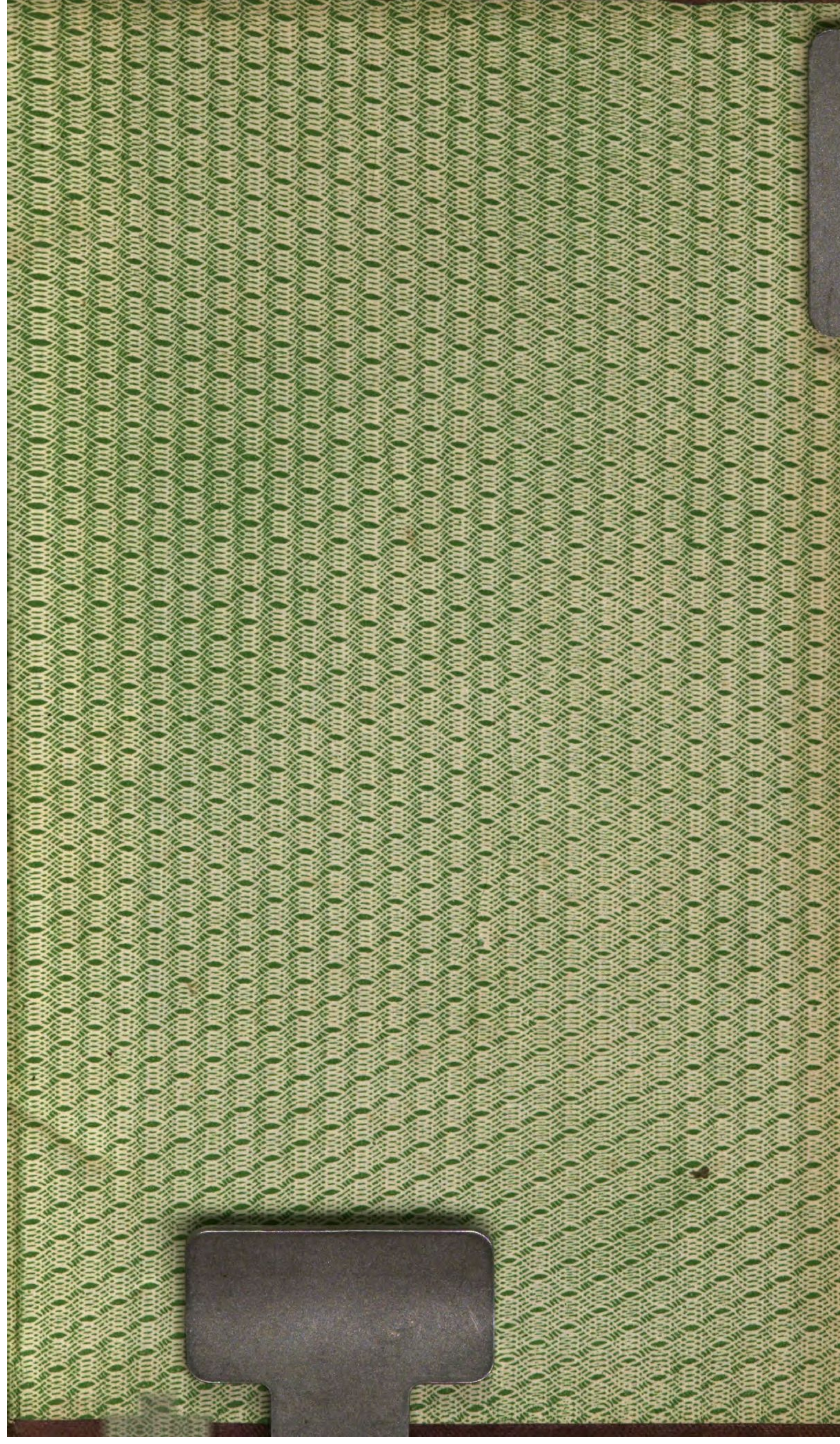
covered with their trading vessels; and the naval armaments of Great Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious: the English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of their shipping; but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

END OF VOL. XII.

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